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# *Roman sacrificial altars*

Helen Cox Bowerman

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ALTAR OF VERMINUS. No. 1.

# ROMAN SACRIFICIAL ALTARS

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY  
OF MONUMENTS IN ROME

BY

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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*AJA—American Journal of Archaeology.*

*AZ—Archäologische Zeitung.*

*Arch. Ans.—Archäologischer Anzeiger; Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des  
Archäologischen Instituts.*

*BC—Bulletino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.*

*BSA—Annual of the British School at Athens.*

*CIL—Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

*DS—Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.*

*ILS—Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. Dessau.*

*JHS—Journal of Hellenic Studies.*

*NS—Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità communicate alla R. Accademia  
dei Lincei.*

*RM—Mittheilungen des kais. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts:  
Römische Abtheilung.*

*WV—Wiener Vorlegeblätter für Archäologische Uebungen.*



## INTRODUCTION

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In the earliest stages of Roman life of which we now have any definite knowledge the idea of sacrifice formed an essential part of the religious conceptions of the race. This found formal expression in the word *sacrificium*, the making sacred of any object as the exclusive property of the divinity.<sup>1</sup> In the words of Warde Fowler:<sup>2</sup> "The word *sacrificium*, . . . in its widest sense, may cover any religious act in which something is made *sacrum*, i. e. (in its legal sense), the property of a deity. . . . *Sacrificium* is limited in practical use by the Romans themselves to offerings, animal or cereal, made on the spot where the deity had taken up his residence, or at some place on the boundary of land or city (*e. g.*, the city gate) which was under his protection, or (in later times at least) at a temporary altar erected during a campaign."<sup>3</sup> The destruction of the offering in a manner prescribed by ritual, typifying and securing its complete transference to the deity, was the essential element of sacrifice.

Many theories have been advanced to account for the origin of sacrifice,<sup>4</sup> but it is difficult to find in any one of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Isidorus, *Etymol.*, VI, 38: *sacrificium quasi sacrum factum*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 171-172.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also Hubert and Mauss, *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice* in *L'année sociologique*, 1898, pp. 39-40: "On doit appeler sacrifice toute oblation, même végétale, toutes les fois que l'offrande ou qu'une partie de l'offrande est détruite, bien que l'usage paraisse réserver le mot de sacrifice à la désignation des seuls sacrifices sanglants."

<sup>4</sup> For convenient summaries cf. Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff.; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, article *Sacrifice*, by N. W. Thomas.

them an explanation that is completely satisfactory for all cases. One of the weaknesses of most of these theories is that they have been framed with the idea of universal application, but as has been pointed out in recent years,<sup>5</sup> it is hardly probable that all forms of sacrifice arose from the same primitive conception. The fundamental idea, however, seems to be that the gods are capable of sending good or ill; if man is to be happy the favor of these powers must be won and their ill-will averted. The chief means to this end is the sacrifice, whether it be expiatory, honorific or sacramental in origin.

In the simple life of early Rome the sacrifices must have been performed in a manner fitting the character and environment of the people. For these sacrifices some primitive form of altar would be required. A few unhewn stones<sup>6</sup> or a temporary structure of turf and branches<sup>7</sup> would be sufficient for the simple ceremonial of this early worship. Gradually these temporary altars would give place to more permanent structures, where the sacrifices were offered in a manner but little more elaborate than earlier generations had known.

By degrees, with the growth of the Roman state, this simple worship became more complex and the official cults and priesthoods were established. Doubtless much was lost in this process of evolution and through the growing intercourse with Etruria and Greece much was gained, but through all these changes the idea of sacrifice remained as a central and essential feature of Roman religion, both domestic and national, and of necessity the altar held a

<sup>5</sup> Hubert and Mauss, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. a relief from the *Ara Pacis Augustae* now in the Museo Nazionale, Rome. Illustrated, Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. IX, 2; Photo. Alinari, 27323.

<sup>7</sup> Vergil, *Aen.*, VI, 177 f.; XII, 117 ff.; Ovid, *Met.*, XV, 573 ff.; *Trist.*, V, 5, 9; Statius, *Theb.*, VIII, 298 f.; Apuleius, *Met.*, VII, 10.

most important place in all religious observances of which the rite of sacrifice formed a part.

In descriptions of Roman sacrificial rites five different terms for designating the altars are commonly used: *focus*, *foculus*, *mensa*, *ara* and *altaria*. Of these, the last two appear most frequently, but the others are used often enough to make an investigation of their meaning necessary.

The ancient etymologists derive the word *focus* from *fovere*<sup>8</sup> and Servius adds in one passage<sup>9</sup> that a *focus* is an indispensable adjunct of both public and private sacrifices. However unsound etymologically this derivation may be,<sup>10</sup> it undoubtedly expresses the real significance of the *focus*,—that it was a place where the sacred fire was tended, at first the hearth of the individual home, the center of the domestic worship, but with the gradual growth of the state religion becoming a necessary adjunct of the public sacrificial altar. The use of the word in the familiar phrase *arae focique*<sup>11</sup> as expressive of all that was most sacred from a religious point of view was an attempt to unite in one the public and private aspects of religion.

Originally the term *focus* may have been applied to the part of the altar which actually contained the sacrificial fire,<sup>12</sup> or to a small portable brazier placed upon the altar at the time of sacrifice,<sup>13</sup> but in most cases where it is used in descriptions of sacrificial rites it seems to be practically synonymous with *ara* or *altaria*.<sup>14</sup> Garlands are hung

<sup>8</sup> Varro, quoted by Isidorus, *Origines*, XX, 10; Festus, p. 85, Müller; p. 60, Thewrewk; Servius, *ad Aen.*, XI, 211; XII, 118.

<sup>9</sup> *Ad Aen.*, III, 134.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wörterbuch*, *Focus*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Sallust, *Catiline*, 52; Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, II, 27.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *DS*, *Focus*.

<sup>13</sup> Forcellini, *Lexicon*, *Focus*.

<sup>14</sup> Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 753.

upon it;<sup>15</sup> it may be constructed of turf;<sup>16</sup> the *exta* of the victims are burned upon it.<sup>17</sup> All this shows that its original significance was gradually lost and that the distinction between it and *altaria* and *ara* came to be disregarded, especially by the poets.

The term *foculus* may be dismissed in a few words. It appears frequently in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* and seems there to refer to a portable vessel or tripod,<sup>18</sup> which in certain instances at least was of silver.<sup>19</sup> It could not have been large, as it was carried about from place to place.<sup>20</sup>

The *mensa* or table was a necessary part of the furniture of the sanctuary. Here were kept the sacred vessels and implements when they were not in actual use,<sup>21</sup> and here the offerings of the worshippers were deposited.<sup>22</sup> Festus gives the term *anclabris* as a special name for the sacred table.<sup>23</sup> As a sacrificial term *mensa* seems to have preserved more of its original meaning than did *focus*,<sup>24</sup> although there is mention of a sacrifice made upon a *mensa*,<sup>25</sup> which in this case therefore can hardly denote an ordinary table for the sanctuary. Cicero uses the term in regard to a monument for the dead,<sup>26</sup> presumably the ordi-

<sup>15</sup> Tibullus, I, 2, 82.

<sup>16</sup> Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 753.

<sup>17</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 935.

<sup>18</sup> Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> Henzen, *op. cit.*, CCIII, 19.

<sup>20</sup> Cicero, *Pro Domo*, 47; Pliny, *N. H.*, XXII, 11; Varro, *L. L.*, VI, 14.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, II, 185.

<sup>22</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.*, III, 11, 5-6; Servius, *ad Aen.*, VIII, 279.

<sup>23</sup> P. 11, Müller; p. 8, Thewrewk. Cf. also p. 77, Müller; p. 54, Thewrewk.

<sup>24</sup> Macrobius, *Sat.*, III, 11, 5-6; Servius, *ad Aen.*, VIII, 279.

<sup>25</sup> Festus, p. 64, Müller; p. 45, Thewrewk.

<sup>26</sup> *De Legg.*, II, 26.

nary grave-altar. A second passage of Festus<sup>27</sup> shows that *mensae* were used as altars *in aedibus sacris*. This qualifying phrase is probably to be explained by the fact that the actual sacrificial altars were usually, for reasons of convenience, placed outside the temple proper.<sup>28</sup> A passage in Petronius<sup>29</sup> gives a widely different meaning to the term. Here it appears to be an immediate adjunct of the altar itself, a sort of brazier or grate placed upon it at the time of sacrifice.

In discussing *ara* and *altaria*, the terms most frequently used, it may be well to take up the derivation first. Festus gives as one explanation of the derivation of *altaria* the following:<sup>30</sup> *altaria ab altitudine dicta sunt, quod antiqui diis superis in aedificiis a terra exaltatis sacrafaciebant*.<sup>31</sup> This may be correct, though other explanations have been suggested by modern scholars.<sup>32</sup>

The word *ara* appears to be the more ancient. There is

<sup>27</sup> P. 156, Müller; p. 151, Thewrewk.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, article *Altar*, II, 1649.

<sup>29</sup> *Saturae*, 135: *Mensam veterem posuit in medio altari, quam vivis implevit carbonibus*.

<sup>30</sup> P. 29, Müller; p. 21, Thewrewk.

<sup>31</sup> With this Servius, *ad Ecl.*, V, 66 (*altaria . . . quae ab altitudine constant esse nominata*), and Isidorus, *Etymol.*, XV, 4, 14 (*altare autem ab altitudine constat esse nominatum quasi alta ara*), agree. Cf. also *Corp. Gloss. Lat.*, V, 438, 53, and Scholiast on Statius, *Theb.*, IV, 459.

<sup>32</sup> Pott (*Etym. Forschungen*, II, 4, 299) finds in the word a compound of the root *ās*, to sit, and the prefix *alt-*, a high seat. This he regards as more probable than a derivation from *altus* by means of the suffix *-aris*. Vaniček (*Etym. Wörterbuch*, p. 21) derives it from the root *al-*, to grow or nourish, from which come also *altus* and *altitudo*. Walde (*Lat. Etym. Wörterbuch*, *Altar*) condemns this derivation as meaningless and unsatisfactory from the point of view of formation and connects it with the verb *adoleo*. A second passage of Festus (p. 5, Müller; p. 4, Thewrewk) agrees with this.

abundant testimony to the primitive form *asa*,<sup>33</sup> before the law of rhotacism became effective. This old form is closely connected with the Umbrian and Marsian *asa* and *aso*,<sup>34</sup> Oscan *aasa*,<sup>35</sup> Volscian *asif*,<sup>36</sup> which have a common root *\*as*,<sup>37</sup> meaning to burn or glow. The root meaning of the word would thus seem to be a place for burnt offering, although in the earliest times now known to us it had become the common designation for any place of offering, without regard to the use of fire in the ritual. The ancient writers seem to be confused and uncertain as to the derivation of the word.<sup>38</sup> Modern scholars are fairly well agreed in finding in the root the idea of burning.<sup>39</sup>

The Romans seems to have been aware of an original distinction between *ara* and *altaria*,<sup>40</sup> although in practice

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Terentius Scaurus, 2252, Keil, *Gram. Lat.*, VII, 13: *item Furios dicimus quos antiqui Fusios et aras quas illi asas*. Cf. also Fronto, *Laud. Fumi*, ed. Naber, p. 213; Macrobius, *Sat.*, III, 2, 8; Servius, *ad Aen.*, IV, 219; Placidus, ed. Deverling, p. 51, 15.

<sup>34</sup> Vaniček, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Bücheler, *Umbrica*, pp. 131, 137 *et passim*; *Archiv für Lat. Lex.*, I, 104; Walde, *op. cit.*, p. 40. For the difficulties connected with the Umbrian *asa* cf. von Planta, *Grammatik der Osk.-Umbr. Dialekte*, I, 527.

<sup>35</sup> Mommsen, *Unteritalische Dialekten*, pp. 137 and 244; Vaniček, *l. c.*; Walde, *l. c.*; Huschke, *Die Oskischen und Sabellischen Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 19.

<sup>36</sup> Walde, *l. c.*; Bücheler, *Archiv*, I, 104.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Varro, *L. L.*, V, 38; Isidorus, *Etymol.*, XV, 4, 13; Walde, *l. c.*; von Planta, *Grammatik*, I, 527.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. for example Varro, quoted by Macrobius, *Sat.*, III, 2, 8; Servius, *ad Aen.*, II, 515; Isidorus, *l. c.*

<sup>39</sup> For other derivations cf. Pott, *Etym. Forsch.*, II, 4, 299; Vaniček, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Fick, *Gött. Gelehrt. Anzeiger*, 1894, p. 237.

<sup>40</sup> In the case of the latter word the form *altaria* is used almost exclusively during the classical period. According to Phocas, Keil, *Gram. Lat.*, V, 428, 13, the word is not used in the singular. Later the forms *altar* (*CIL*, XII, 5338, fifth century), *altare* (Festus, p. 371, Müller; p. 4, Thewrewk; Cassiodorus, Keil, *op. cit.*, VII, 209, 3) and *altarium* (*CIL*, VI, 414<sup>b</sup>, 191 A. D.) appear. An accusative form, *altarem*, is frequently found in the *Itala* and in the Christian writers.

this distinction was commonly disregarded. Servius has two important passages bearing on this point: *superorum et arae sunt et altaria, inferorum tantum arae*.<sup>41</sup> *Novimus enim aras et diis esse superis et inferis consecratas, altaria vero esse superorum tantum deorum*.<sup>42</sup> Varro, quoted by Servius in the first of these passages, makes the further distinction that *diis superis altaria, terrestribus aras, inferis focos dicari*. In a third passage<sup>43</sup> Servius makes this distinction: *mortuorum arae, deorum altaria dicuntur, . . . quamvis hoc frequenter poeta ipse confundat*, and Isidorus supports this when he says:<sup>44</sup> *inter altaria et aras hoc interest, quod altaria deo ponuntur, arae etiam defunctis*. That *arae* as opposed to *altaria* were originally connected with the cult of the heroized dead is shown by this same commentary of Servius on Eclogue V, 66, where it is expressly stated that *altaria* were erected to Apollo, *quasi deo*, while Daphnis by virtue of his mortal nature received only *arae*. Too much importance, however, must not be attached to passages of this sort, since we have the testimony of Servius that Vergil was not consistent in his use of the terms, and other writers were probably no more exact than he. The choice of one word rather than the other was doubtless often determined merely by metrical or rhetorical considerations. *Altaria*, as the more sonorous term, is frequently preferred by the poets. A large number of cases might be cited where apparently there is a distinction between *ara* and *altaria*,<sup>45</sup> but these would be counterbalanced by an equally large number of cases where the terms are used promiscuously.<sup>46</sup> An examination of

<sup>41</sup> *Ad Aen.*, II, 515.

<sup>42</sup> *Ad Ecl.*, V, 66.

<sup>43</sup> *Ad Aen.*, III, 305.

<sup>44</sup> *Liber Differentiarum*, 440.

<sup>45</sup> *E. g.*, Pliny, *Panegyric*, I; Lucan, III, 404; Tacitus, *Ann.*, XVI, 31.

<sup>46</sup> Ovid, *Met.*, V, 36; Statius, *Silv.*, III, 3, 24; Silius, III, 29.

the literary evidence fails to support the statements of Servius and Isidorus quoted above, that both *arae* and *altaria* were used in the worship of the celestial divinities, while sacrifice was offered to the gods of the lower world on *arae* alone. One illustration may suffice: in I, 46 of the *Punica* Silius uses *altaria* as synonymous with an *arae* previously used, which he expressly says were erected *caelique diis Ereboque potenti*.

From a comparison of passages where the two terms are used,<sup>47</sup> with the support of etymology, certain writers<sup>48</sup> have tried to show that *altaria* was the term used for the upper part of the altar, as contrasted with *ara*, the base of the structure. Others again<sup>49</sup> have attempted to limit *altaria* to a separate portable support or frame of metal or terra cotta placed upon the *ara* at the time of sacrifice. That such accessories were used is abundantly attested by the monuments,<sup>50</sup> and they would be a necessity in the case of marble altars which would be calcined by direct contact with fire. In spite, however, of the evidence for this practice, the use of the term *altaria* as applied only to these accessories is scarcely justified by the literary evidence.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the various types of sacrificial altars, a brief catalogue of the examples in Rome at the present day may be helpful.<sup>1</sup> The altars con-

<sup>47</sup> Vitruvius, IV, 9; Lucan, III, 404; Quintilian, *Decl.*, XII, 26; Prudentius, *Cath.*, VII, 203, *Peristeph.*, XIV, 49; Servius, *ad Ecl.*, V, 66.

<sup>48</sup> Forcellini, *Lexicon, Altare*.

<sup>49</sup> Ruggiero, *Dis. Epig.*, I, 594; Walde, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Gerhard, *Antike Denkmäler*, fig. 418.

<sup>1</sup> The catalogue includes altars in the Museo Nazionale, Museo Capitolino, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Antiquarium, Museo Laterano, Museo Vaticano, in the Forum and on the Palatine. A list believed to be practically complete for Rome at the present time is given in the index.

sidered have been divided into two main classes—those with a curving profile or outline and those with a straight profile. The first class, though numerically much the smaller,<sup>2</sup> far surpasses the second in interest and importance. The second class has been divided into four groups: (*A*) altars having *pulvini* or bolsters at the sides; (*B*) those with pointed appendages or “horns” at the corners of the top; (*C*) flat-topped altars; (*D*) altars with shallow depressions of various shapes and depths in the upper surface. In a few instances an altar may be classified in two of these groups—for example, an altar with *pulvini* or horns may also have the depression characteristic of Class II, *D*—but as a general rule the divisions are clearly marked. The absence in most cases of any satisfactory criteria for dating has made even a roughly chronological arrangement impossible. The altars have therefore been grouped within the different classes according to their present location.

<sup>2</sup> Only three of the eighty-seven altars considered are included in Class I.

## CATALOGUE

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### CLASS I

#### 1. *Altar of Verminus.*

Antiquarium (Magazzino Archeologico).

*CIL*, VI, 3732 = 31057; *ILS*, 4019; *BC*, Vol. IV, 1876, pp. 24–28; Vol. XXVI, 1898, pp. 164–165; Lanciani, *Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Excavations*, p. 52; Studniczka, *Oest. Jahreshefte*, Vol. VI, 1903, p. 142; Hülsen, *RM*, Vol. XX, 1905, pp. 41–42; Platner, *Ancient Rome*<sup>2</sup>, p. 491.

Illustrated: *BC*, l. c., Tav. III; *Oest. Jahreshefte*, l. c., fig. 90; *RM*, l. c., p. 42, fig. 8.

Peperino. Height, 1.032 m.; breadth and depth, .752 m.

The altar was found in 1876 on the Via del Macciao, near the present Ministry of Finance. In form it reproduces almost exactly that of the altar of Calvinus on the Palatine,<sup>3</sup> except that the top is flat, and not furnished with *pulvini*. The base is formed by a quadrangular plinth, above which is a torus, and a section with curving outline, narrowing in to the central section, which is composed of a trochilus, bordered by narrow fillets. The three upper sections reproduce with reversed outline the three lower sections. The inscription is cut on the front of the upper plinth:

VERMINO

A . POSTUMIUS . A . F . A . N . ALBI  
DUO . VIR . LEGE PLAETORIA

<sup>3</sup> Class I, 3.

Next to the altar of Calvinus, the closest parallel is found in the so-called Altar of Bovillae,<sup>4</sup> which is also of the same material. The altar of Verminus is probably to be dated in the time of Sulla.<sup>5</sup> The divinity to whom the altar is dedicated is otherwise unknown, and the derivation of the name is uncertain.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Altar of Veiovis.

Gardens of the Villa Colonna.

*CIL*, I, 807 = XIV, 2387; Nibby, *Analisi*, I, p. 210; Gell, *Rome and its Vicinity*, I, p. 219; Canina, *Via Appia*, I, pp. 209, 213, 232; Dressel, *Annali*, Vol. LI, 1879, p. 281; Studniczka, *Oest. Jahreshefte*, Vol. VI, 1903, p. 142.

Illustrated: Ritschl, *Pris. Lat. Mon. Epig.*, 56 F; *Oest. Jahreshefte*, l. c., fig. 9.

Peperino. Height, 1.25 m.; breadth and depth, .95 m. Owing to extensive restoration these measurements are approximate only.

The altar was found at Bovillae in 1826. Its general form is similar to that of the Altar of Verminus<sup>7</sup> and the Altar of Calvinus.<sup>8</sup> Some differences may, however, be noted. The front face of the upper plinth, on which the inscription is cut, projects sharply from the section below, whereas in the other two altars there is no such projection. A more important difference is that the upper of the two

<sup>4</sup> Class I, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Studniczka (*Oest. Jahreshefte*, 1903, p. 142) identifies the dedicatory of the altar with an A. Postumius Albinus, who was consul in 151 B. C., but as Hülsen has pointed out (*CIL*, VI, 31057; *RM*, Vol. XX, 1905, p. 41) the forms of the letters and of the words belong rather to the time of Sulla.

<sup>6</sup> It appears to be connected with *vermis*, *verminatio*. (*CIL*, l. c.)

<sup>7</sup> Class I, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Class I, 3.

sections with curving outline is considerably wider and deeper than the lower of these sections. In the other altars of this type the middle sections are of the same size. No torus mouldings occur on this altar, as on the other two. The style of the letters points to the first century B. C.

### 3. *Altar of Calvinus.*

Southwest slope of the Palatine.

*CIL*, I, 632 = VI, 30694; *ILS*, 4015; Lanciani, *RM*, Vol. IX, 1894, p. 33; Richter, *Topographie*, p. 142; Marucchi, *Le Forum Romain et le Palatin*, pp. 310 ff.; Studniczka, *Oest. Jahreshefte*, Vol. VI, 1903, p. 142; Platner, *Ancient Rome*<sup>2</sup>, p. 140 f.

Illustrated: Photo. Alinari, 28692; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, p. 311; Blinkenberg, *Archäologische Studien*, p. 124.

Travertine. Height, at center, 1.06 m.; breadth, .82 m.; depth, .665 m.

The altar was discovered in the early part of the nineteenth century,<sup>9</sup> but nothing is known of the circumstances of its finding. The fact that it now stands 12 m. above the ancient level<sup>10</sup> is sufficient proof that it is not *in situ*. A quadrangular section, finished by a torus moulding, forms the base, above which the outline is carried inward in a bold curve. The breadth and depth at this point are reduced to nearly half of the measures of the base. Above the narrowed portion comes a section whose outward curving outline brings the altar back to its first dimensions. This is followed by a torus and a quadrangular plinth, on the front face of which is cut the inscription:

<sup>9</sup> Lanciani, *EM*, Vol. IX, 1894, p. 33, says it was discovered in 1820; Marucchi, *Le Forum Romain et le Palatin*, p. 310, gives 1829.

<sup>10</sup> Lanciani, *l. c.*



ALTAR OF CALVINUS. No. 3.



SEI . DEO . SEI . DEIVAE . SAC  
 C . SEXTIUS . C . F . CALVINUS . PR  
 DE . SENATI SENTENTIA  
 RESTITUIT

The uppermost member is formed by two *pulvini*, between which the upper surface, slightly set back from the edge of the plinth, runs in a gentle concave curve. The *pulvini* are ornamented with scales and bound about the middle with a broad band or *balteus*, while the circular ends are worked in a floral form with a prominent pistil.

Attempts have been made<sup>11</sup> to show that this altar is identical with the one erected by the Romans to Aius Locutius, in commemoration of the warning of the approach of the Gauls given them by a mysterious voice,<sup>12</sup> but this view is no longer held.<sup>13</sup> It seems much more probable that it was erected to some local divinity.

On grounds of style the altar is to be ascribed to the

<sup>11</sup> Nibby, *Analisi*, I, 321, followed by Mommsen, *CIL*, I, 632.

<sup>12</sup> Cicero, *De Divin.*, I, 45; Varro, *ap. Gell.*, XVI, 17; Livy, V, 32.

<sup>13</sup> Hülsen, *CIL*, VI, 30694; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, p. 312; Platner, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Pascal, *BC*, Vol. XXII, 1894, pp. 188 ff. Topographical considerations are against the view of Nibby and Mommsen, since the voice was heard near the Via Nova and the sacred grove of Vesta, on the opposite side of the hill. The fact that the altar was not found *in situ* furnishes some negative evidence for this view, though this in itself is of small importance. Furthermore, as Pascal pointed out (*op. cit.*), it seems strange that the name Aius Locutius does not appear on the altar, if it was dedicated to him, since the name of that divinity was well known. Pascal drew attention to a passage of Dionysius (*AR*, I, 32) which states that in ancient times there were near the Lupercal (in the general region of which this altar was found) a grove and an altar sacred to Pan. The formula used in clearing a grove was "*si deus, si dea es quoium illud sacrum est.*" (Cato, *De Agr.*, 139.) It seems reasonable then to connect the altar of Calvinus with the local genius of this *lucus*. Visconti and Lanciani, *Guida del Palatino*, p. 76, suggest that the altar was dedicated either to some local genius of this part of the hill, or to the genius of Rome.

Republican period.<sup>14</sup> A C. Sextius Calvinus was consul in 124 B. C., and it was probably a son of his by the same name who was a candidate for the praetorship in 100 B. C.<sup>15</sup> The Calvinus of the inscription is probably to be identified with the praetor,<sup>16</sup> in which case the altar would date approximately from the time of Sulla. An original inscription of this date would not use the form *deivae*, so it seems clear that the Sullan inscription is a copy of one of a much earlier period. It is reasonable to assume also that the altar itself is a reproduction of the earlier one. We have then a third example of the Republican Roman altar, with a date more or less closely defined.

#### CLASS II, A

##### 4. *Altar of Isis.*

Museo Nazionale.

*CIL*, VI, 30915; *ILS*, 4370; *NS*, Ser. 4<sup>a</sup>, Vol. VI, 1888, p. 626; *BC*, Vol. XVII, 1889, p. 37; Jordan, *Topographie*, I, 3, p. 305, n. 50.

Marble. Height, .87 m.; breadth, .38 m.; depth, .26 m.

The altar was found in 1888, in the construction of a sewer on the Via Labicana, near the Baths of Titus. It is known that there was in this locality a Temple of Isis and Serapis,<sup>17</sup> from which the Region took its name. The altar is probably to be connected with some shrine or chapel within the area of the temple. It has a moulded base, cornice and sides, and the top is flanked by plain *pulvini*.

<sup>14</sup> In general appearance it recalls the sarcophagus of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus in the Vatican.

<sup>15</sup> *CIL*, VI, 132; Cicero, *Brut.*, XXXIV, 130; *De Orat.*, II, 61, 249.

<sup>16</sup> Mommsen, *CIL*, l. c.

<sup>17</sup> Jordan, *Topographie*, I, 3, pp. 304-305, and *Anm.* 48; Platner, *Ancient Rome*,<sup>2</sup> p. 449, and note 7.

A *patera* is represented in relief on the right face; the left is plain. In the top, between the *pulvini*, is a shallow round depression.<sup>18</sup>

5. *Altar of the Lares Curiales.*

Museo Nazionale.

*NS*, Ser. V, Vol. IV, 1907, p. 465; *BC*, Vol. XXXVI, 1908, p. 42.

Illustrated: *NS*, 1907, p. 466, fig. 39; *BC*, 1908, Tav. IV.

Tufa, of a lighter and more friable variety than that of the altars of the *Lares Viales* and *Lares Semitales*, which were found with it. Height, 1.30 m.; breadth, .65 m.; depth, .65 m.

This altar, together with the two following, was found in 1907, on the Via Portuense, 1.70 m. below the present level. The three altars were placed in a row, .50 m. apart; their front faces were towards the road, which was a little more than 2 m. distant.

The base and cornice are perfectly plain. The top is flat, flanked by simple *pulvini* of moderate size, whose outer surface, in section, is not curved, but continues the vertical line of the cornice. As a result, the *pulvini* are

<sup>18</sup> The inscription is as follows:

ISIDI . LYDIAE  
EDUCATRICI  
VALVAS . CUM  
ANUBI ET ARA  
MUCIANUS AUG  
LIB . PROC

It is interesting as presenting two epithets of Isis previously unknown—*Lydia* and *educatrix*. The first appears to be taken from Asia Minor, and may refer to the particular form of the Isis cult connected with this shrine. *Educatrix* probably refers to the functions of Isis as guardian and nurse of the infant Horus. (Cf. *BC*, Vol. XVII, 1889, p. 37.)

not so sharply differentiated from the rest of the altar as in most cases. The general form of the altar is quite similar to that of the other two, but the base and *pulvini* are higher. The form of the letters also is somewhat different, pointing to an earlier date. It has been suggested<sup>19</sup> that this altar was the first of the three to be erected and stood alone for a time, and that later the other two were set up beside it.<sup>20</sup>

6. *Altar of the Lares Semitales.*

Museo Nazionale.

For references cf. no. 5.

Tufa. Height, 1.30 m.; breadth, .68 m.; depth, .65 m.

In form this altar practically reproduces that of the *Lares Curiales* (no. 5).

7. *Altar of the Lares Viales.*

Museo Nazionale.

For references cf. no. 5.

Tufa. Height, 1.30 m.; breadth, .68 m.; depth, .65 m.

Similar in form to the two preceding.

8. *Altar of Silvanus.*

Museo Nazionale. Court.

Marble. Height, .845 m.; breadth, .495 m.; depth, .285 m.

<sup>19</sup> Gatti, *BC*, l. c.

<sup>20</sup> The first letters of the second word of the inscription are now illegible, but there seems to be little doubt that it is to be restored as CURIALES. *Burales* naturally suggested itself, as this name for a *vicus* of the Fourteenth Region is known from *CIL*, VI, 975, right side, III, 1, but there is space for more than one letter between the *R* and the *L*. If the reading *curiales* is correct, we have here a new epithet for the Lares. It is undoubtedly derived from *curia*, and may, as Gatti suggests (*BC*, l. c.), preserve the memory of one of the ancient *curiae*.





1



2



3



4

ALTAR OF SILVANUS. No. 9.

The base and cornice are elaborately moulded, and simpler mouldings frame the different faces. The middle of the front face is occupied by a recessed panel, in which is a full-length figure of Silvanus. He stands full front, nude, except for a short cloak fastened on the right shoulder, and high boots. He holds a pruning knife in his right hand, and his left hand grasps the corner of his cloak, in the folds of which various fruits and a pine cone are seen. At his right is a dog looking up at him; a pine tree with cones is at his left hand.

The top is flanked by plain round *pulvini*, which are not sharply differentiated from the rest of the altar. The flat upper surface is slightly higher than the *pulvini*.

#### 9. *Altar of Silvanus.*

Museo Nazionale. Sala XVIII.

*CIL*, XIV, 51; *NS*, Ser. 3<sup>a</sup>, Vol. VII, 1881, pp. 195-196; Helbig, *Führer*, II, pp. 206-207; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, pp. 241-243.

Illustrated: *NS*, April, 1881, Tav. II; Strong, *op. cit.*, Pls. LXXIII-LXXIV; Photo. Anderson, 2471-2473; Photo. Moscioni, 9117, 9118A.

Carrara marble. Height, including the *pulvini*, 1.095 m.; depth and breadth, at the cornice, .945 m.; below the cornice, .63 m.

The altar was found at Ostia in the spring of 1881, in a portico behind the theater. It shows great richness and variety in the sculptured scenes which adorn the four faces, and in the conventional ornamentation and mouldings. The base is formed by a quadrangular plinth, .07 m. high, which bears part of the inscription. The profile of the altar is set back several centimeters from the edge of this plinth, which is followed by a second narrower plinth.

Above this are an astragal, and a broad cyma reversa decorated with a floral design suggestive of the leaf and dart motive so common in Ionic architecture.<sup>21</sup> The cornice is composed of three mouldings—a cyma recta, adorned with finely wrought leaves, between whose tips more slender leaves are seen; below a narrow fillet a platband with boldly projecting dentils, and lastly a cyma reversa with a leaf pattern similar to that of the base, but less elaborate. The angles of the different cymae are adorned with graceful and delicately wrought acanthus leaves.

The *pulvini* are covered with laurel leaves, arranged in a pattern resembling scales. They contract slightly at the middle, where they are bound by a braided *balteus*. Their ends are elaborately worked in a floral design, with parts in fives. In the center of the flat upper surface of the altar is an irregular hole, varying in depth from .055 m. to .12 m.

The sculptured scenes of the altar have been too frequently described to require more than a brief mention. The angles below the cornice are occupied by boldly wrought rams' heads, from whose horns depend fillets and heavy garlands of fruit bound with fluttering ribbons. The lower angles seem to have been occupied by sphinxes or other fantastic animals, of which but scanty traces are now left. Their almost complete disappearance suggests that they were wrought from separate pieces of marble.<sup>22</sup> The front of the altar has a scene representing the courtship of Mars and Venus, while the back has a charming version of the birth of Romulus and Remus. On the sides *amorini* are mischievously busy with the arms and chariot of Mars.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Marquand, *Greek Architecture*, fig. 183.

<sup>22</sup> For a better preserved example of this motive, cf. an altar in the Ludovisi Collection, Museo Nazionale. Illustrated: Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*, fig. 69.





ALTAR OF SILVANUS. No. 8.



ALTAR OF THE LARES AUGUSTI. No. 14.



ALTAR OF THE LARES AUGUSTI. No. 70.



ALTAR OF VICTORIA AVGVSTA. No. 10.

The inscription on the plinth enables us to ascribe the altar to the year 124 A. D.

10. *Altar of Victoria Augusta.*

Museo Nazionale, Court, 30355 bis.

A quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base and cornice of several members. The faces are slightly concave between flat mouldings at the corners. Height, .84 m.; breadth, .45 m.; depth, .435 m.

On the front face, surrounding the dedication, is a laurel wreath, tied with ribbons. On the sides are smaller, lighter wreaths, through which palm branches pass. On the back are a *patera* and an *urceus*. The top is flat, with *pulvini* at the sides, adorned with large leaves with crinkly margins. There is a decided contraction at the middle of the *pulvini*. The ends, now much broken, seem to have been worked in rosettes. Across the front, between the *pulvini*, is a conventional spiral design.

11. *Altar of Mater Deum.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, VI, 492; *ILS*, 4096; Preller-Jordan, *Römische Mythologie*, II, p. 58, *ann.* 1; Roscher, *Lexicon*, II, p. 481; *Philologus*, Vol. LII, 1899, pp. 581-582; Helbig, *Führer*, I, pp. 291-292.

Illustrated: Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, fig. 864; *DS*, fig. 2243.

Marble. Height, (at center), .815 m.; breadth, .52 m.; depth, .45 m.

The altar was found during the pontificate of Clement XI (1700-1721) on the banks of the Tiber at the foot of the Aventine.<sup>23</sup> The base, cornice and sides of the various

<sup>23</sup> It was at first taken to the Vatican; later, under Clement XIII (1758-1765), it was transferred to the Capitoline.

faces are simply moulded. The top is furnished with plain *pulvini*, which are not sharply differentiated from the rest of the altar. On the front is represented in low relief the well-known legend of the bringing of the image of Magna Mater to Rome in 204 B. C., and the part played in its reception by the Vestal Claudia Quinta.<sup>24</sup> A seated figure of the goddess is placed on the deck of a ship, which a woman, characterized as a Vestal by the *suffibulum* over her head, is drawing to the shore.<sup>25</sup> On the right face is a *lituus*, on the left a *pileus*.

12. *Altar of Sol Sanctissimus.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, VI, 710; *ILS*, 4337; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 312.

Illustrated: Strong, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCVI.

Marble. Height, .85 m.; breadth and depth, .45 m.

<sup>24</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 247 ff.

<sup>25</sup> The inscription

MATRI . DEUM . ET NAVISALVIAE  
SALVIAE VOTO SUSCEPTO  
CLAUDIA SYNTYCHE  
D. D.

has given rise to considerable discussion. It is uncertain whether NAVISALVIAE is to be read as one word or two. If it is one word, it must be regarded as referring to the Vestal Claudia Quinta, who would then be honored side by side with the mother of the gods,—a canonization for which there is as yet no parallel. It seems more reasonable to suppose that *Salvia* was the name of the ship. A trireme of this name is mentioned several times as belonging to the praetorian fleet of Misenum. (Cf. Ferrero, *L' Ordinamento delle Armate Romane*, p. 29.) This view is supported by Orelli (1905), Helbig, Henzen and Bloch (*Philologus*, l. c.). In this case the repetition of the word *Salviae* in the second line would probably be due to a mistake of the stone-cutter, though Bloch suggests that the Greek freedwoman Claudia Syntyche, as a result of her limited knowledge of Latin, used it in the sense of *pro salute*. (For the epithet *Salvia* applied to Proserpina cf. *Am. Journ. of Philology*, 1912, supp. pp. 17, 18 *et passim*.)

Simple mouldings form the base and cornice. The lower part of the front face, above the base, is occupied by the inscription, which is framed by a moulding. Between the inscription and cornice the background is sunk, and a flat plain moulding surrounds the field thus formed. On the ledge made by the recessing of the background stands an eagle with partly opened wings, recalling the Hadrianic eagle in the porch of the *SS. Apostoli*.<sup>26</sup> He bears on his wings a bust of the youthful sungod, whose radiate hair is surrounded by an aureole. The boy wears a chlamys, fastened on the right shoulder by a round brooch. The whole composition has a simplicity and sweet gravity that render it very attractive.

On the right face is the bust of a veiled priest, who holds a sickle. A quadriga drawn by winged horses occupies the left face. The charioteer, who is just stepping into the chariot, is being crowned by Victory. On the back is a cypress, in the midst of which appears a head.

The top has small *pulvini* at the sides, which are bound about the middle. The ends of the *pulvini* are worked in five-petaled rosettes, between which the front rises in a gentle curve. A wreath tied by fluttering ribbons fills the central space of the front, and between the ribbons and the rosettes are palmettes of the "spreading"<sup>27</sup> type. The upper surface has a square shallow depression.

### 13. *Altar of Bona Dea.*

Palazzo dei Conservatori.

*CIL*, VI, 30855.

Quadrangular marble altar. Height, including top, 1.05 m.; breadth, .50 m.; depth, .39 m.

<sup>26</sup> Illustrated: Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. LXIX.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Riegl, *Stilfragen*, p. 210 and fig. 110. The terms "spreading" and "drooping" have been used to translate Riegl's "*gesprengt*" and "*überfallend*."

The base, cornice and sides are simply moulded. The upper surface has a quadrangular depression in the middle and is flanked by plain *pulvini*, which contract at the middle, and grow smaller again just before reaching the end.<sup>28</sup> The ends of the *pulvini* are not sharply differentiated from the front, but are covered by part of the general design, which consists of spirals ending in rosettes. The angles are filled with palmettes.<sup>29</sup> On the right face a *patera* is represented, on the left an *urceus*.

#### 14. *Altar of the Lares Augusti.*

Palazzo dei Conservatori.

*CIL*, VI, 30957; *ILS*, 3615; *NS*, Ser. 4\*, Vol. IV, 1888, p. 498; *BC*, Vol. XVI, 1888, pp. 327, 379; Vol. XVII, 1889, pp. 69–72; *RM*, Vol. IV, 1889, pp. 265 ff.; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, pp. 73, 74; Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*, no. 232.

Illustrated: Photo. Moscioni, 10465; *BC*, 1889, Tav. III; Roscher, *Lexicon*, II, p. 1895; *RM*, 1889, pp. 266, 267; Strong, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXIII and XXIV; Altmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 141 and 141<sup>a</sup>.

Marble. Height, 1.05 m.; breadth and depth, .54 m. Three of the upper corners are restored, but the restoration has been made on the basis of what remains and is therefore perfectly certain.

The altar was found in 1888, on the Via Arenula, 8 m. below the present level of the street. It stood on a foundation of two courses of travertine blocks, on which the part of the inscription giving the name of the *vicus* was cut.

The base is formed of three mouldings; the central one is worked in scales, and the topmost one is decorated with

<sup>28</sup> For an illustration of this form of *pulvinus* cf. Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*, fig. 94.

<sup>29</sup> For this scheme of decoration cf. Altmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 62 and 63.

a leaf pattern that recalls that of the lowest moulding of the cornice of the Silvanus altar from Ostia (no. 9). The various faces are framed by two flat mouldings. The cornice is composed of a cyma recta with a rich leaf pattern and a platband with dentils. The top is flanked by *pulvini* whose diameter is the same throughout. The scheme of decoration is different from anything heretofore noticed. They are bound about the middle with two broad braided bands, which are followed on either side by a section about a quarter of the length of the whole *pulvinus* covered with a scale pattern. The concluding sections are channeled in the manner of an Ionic column. The front ends of the *pulvini* are not differentiated, but the design runs across the entire width of the altar. This design consists of broad spirals or volutes, with small four-petaled rosettes in the *oculi* and half palmettes of the "spreading" type in the angles. The top has a small square depression.

On the front face is represented the sacrifice of the four *vicomagistri* who dedicated the altar. They wear togas, and are veiled for sacrifice. They are grouped about a plain square flat-topped altar, two on the right side and two on the left. Their right arms are extended over the altar, and the foremost man on the left seems to be making a libation with a *patera*. At the left two *victimarii* are bringing in the victims, a pig for the Lares, a bull for the *Genius Augusti*. In the rear, at the extreme left, is a third attendant with a bundle of rods, while behind the altar a *tibicen* is playing on a double flute. On each of the side faces a Lar is represented, standing on a small square pedestal, which suggests that the type was taken over from some work in the round. They wear the usual short fluttering tunic, girded with a broad sash with pointed ends. They carry laurel branches in their right hands. The object in the left hands has been destroyed, but on the

analogy of similar representations it is probably to be restored as a *rhyton*.<sup>30</sup> On the back was a *corona civica*, of which only the ribbons are left.

The altar was dedicated to the *Lares Augusti* by four *magistri* of the *vicus Aescleti*<sup>31</sup> in the ninth year after the revival of the cult of the *Lares* by Augustus.<sup>32</sup> The orders of Augustus were completely carried out in the city in the year 7 B. C.,<sup>33</sup> so this altar, erected in the ninth year of the restored cult, dates from 2 A. D.<sup>34</sup>

#### 15. *Altar of Caius Manlius.*

Museo Laterano.

*CIL*, XI, 3616; *Annali*, Vol. XXX, 1858, pp. 5-17; Vol. XXXIV, 1862, p. 309; *Bulletino*, 1859, pp. 172 ff.; Benndorf-Schöne, *Die Antiken Bildwerke d. Lat. Museums*, no. 216; Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*, no. 235; Helbig, *Führer*, I, p. 454, no. 681.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. for example, the altar of C. Manlius, no. 15.

<sup>31</sup> The name of this *vicus* is otherwise unknown. Gatti (*BC*, Vol. XVI, 1888, pp. 379 ff.) suggests that *Aescleti* is contracted from *Aesculeti*, and that the *vicus* may have been so named from its nearness to an *aesculetum* or oakgrove. (Cf. Varro, *L. L.*, V, 152, and Pliny, *N. H.*, XVI, 37.)

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Cassius Dio, LV, 8; Pliny, *N. H.*, III, 66 Suetonius, *Aug.*, XXX; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, III, pp. 204 ff.; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, I, p. 328; p. 391, *anm.* 5.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Henzen on *CIL*, VI, 454.

<sup>34</sup> Only two other altars dedicated to the *Lares Augusti* by *vico-magistri* are known—one in the Vatican, Sala delle Muse, *CIL*, VI, 445, the other in the Uffizi, *CIL*, VI, 448. They are adorned with sculptured scenes similar to those of the altar in the Conservatori, except that in the first case the genius of Augustus is represented, in the second Augustus with his wife and son. To quote the words of Gatti, *BC*, Vol. XVII, 1889, pp. 69 ff.: "These two altars show the connection between the public cult of the *Lares* and that of Augustus, bearing as they do a personification of the genius of the family of the Caesars, or the images of Augustus, his wife and his son. The *Ara Aescleti* indicates this connection in cult solely by the scene of sacrifice, where the two animals are the proper victims for sacrifice to the genius of the Emperor and in honor of the *Lares*."



ALTAR OF CAIUS MANLIUS. No. 15.



Illustrated: *Mon. dell' Inst.*, Vol. VI, 1858, Tav. XIII; Altmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 143 and 143°.

Marble. Height, .90 m.; breadth, .65 m.; depth, .50 m.

The altar was found in 1846 at Cerveteri. The base and cornice are composed of simple unadorned mouldings, and narrow mouldings frame the different faces, which are slightly sunk. A scene of sacrifice is represented on the front face. Below the cornice at right and left are boucrania in low relief, between which is suspended a garland of olive leaves. The sacrificial scene below falls into two groups. At the right is a small quadrangular altar with moulded base and cornice, piled with fruit. Wreaths are suspended from the boucrania at the corners, and in the spaces above the wreaths are small *paterae*. At the right stands the priest, clad in tunic and toga, one fold of which is drawn up over his head in the usual manner. He is pouring a libation upon the altar from a small *patera* held in his right hand. Directly behind the altar stands the *camillus* clad in a short-sleeved tunic. A fringed *mappa* is thrown over his left shoulder, and in his right hand is the *urceus*, from which he has filled the priest's *patera*. At his right is the *tibicen* playing upon the double flute. The head and shoulders of a fourth figure are faintly indicated in the background, between the priest and the *camillus*. According to Henzen,<sup>35</sup> this is the *praeco*, according to Garucci,<sup>36</sup> the *monitor* or *praecentor*. At the left of the altar two kneeling, half-nude *victimarii* are holding the head of the bull in position to receive the fatal blow about to be delivered by the *popa* at the extreme left. Behind the bull is a second *popa*, bearing a *malleus* on his right shoulder, and holding a flat dish of fruit or cakes in his

<sup>35</sup> *Annali*, Vol. XXX, 1858, p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> *Monumenti del Museo Lateranense*, pp. 27-29.

upraised left hand. The execution is poor, but the whole scene is one of exceptional interest for the ritual of sacrifice.

The sides are occupied by figures of Lares which in general conception and pose recall those of the altar of the *Vicomagistri* (no. 14). Here, however, the figure is placed between two small laurel bushes; the *rhyton* on one side is in the upraised right hand, on the other in the left, while the other hand holds a small *patera*.

The back is occupied by a scene that has not yet been satisfactorily explained. In the middle is the figure of a woman, apparently a goddess, seated on a throne which is placed on a high rock basis. The throne has an elaborately wrought back, and is furnished with a footstool. The goddess is clad in a *stola* and a *palla*, which is drawn up over her head. The outstretched right hand holds a *patera*, and her left arm supports a large cornucopia. At her right is a group of three women, whose dress is the same as hers. The one nearest to her lays her right hand upon her knee, apparently in supplication, while the other two have their hands upraised, as if in entreaty. At the left of the goddess are three men, clad in tunic and toga. The one in the middle is grasping his neighbor to the right by the throat, as if to threaten him, while the man nearest the throne looks with interest at this scene.<sup>87</sup>

The top is flanked by *pulvini* which vary but little in

<sup>87</sup> This scene has been variously interpreted. Benndorf-Schöne, Henzen and Helbig see in the goddess a representation of *Fortuna* or possibly *Salus* (Henzen), to whom the sacrificial scene on the front is to be referred. Cavedoni suggests (*Bulletino*, 1859, pp. 173 ff.) that the goddess is *Concordia* and interprets the group of three men as a debtor oppressed by a usurer, with a kindly disposed citizen, probably Manlius, trying to make peace between them. The three women would represent the wives of oppressed debtors relieved by Manlius. This interpretation seems too fanciful to be accepted, and it is more reasonable to explain the scene as some phase of the cult of Fortune.

diameter. They are bound about the middle by a triple *balteus*, and adorned with long leaves with crinkled edges. The ends are worked in a coarse rosette form. The *pulvini* are sharply differentiated from the rest of the top, which extends in a flat surface between them.

16. *Altar of Diana.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 119E.

*CIL*, XIV, 2212; *ILS*, 3244; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 385.

A small quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base and cornice.<sup>38</sup> A *patera* is represented on the right face, an *urceus* on the left. The top has small *pulvini* whose ends are worked in floral forms. The upper surface between the *pulvini* is broken, but apparently was flat originally. It has a shallow square depression.

Although dedicated to Diana Nemorensis this altar need not necessarily have come from Nemi, as altars may have been erected to this goddess at Rome also.

17. *Altar of Diana.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 123A.

Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 390.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 41.

Fine-grained yellowish marble. Height, .79 m.; breadth, .505 m.; depth, .33 m.

Simple mouldings form the base and frame the various faces. The cornice projects at the sides, but is flat in front. Volutes, meeting and fastened at the middle and ending in flowers apparently of the lily family, adorn the front face above the upper mouldings. At the sides are

<sup>38</sup> I was not allowed to take measurements in the Vatican. In cases where dimensions are given, they have been taken from Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*

small *pulvini*, not sharply differentiated from the rest of the top, whose ends are worked in floral forms.

A rustic shrine is represented on the front face. On a slight rise of ground is a rock altar, against which rest a quiver, a bow and two spears. At the left of the altar is a female figure in a long garment, holding a torch in each upraised hand. Behind the altar is a tree. The right face has a representation of a deer lying on the ground under a small oak tree, facing to the right. On the left face is a large hound, seated and facing to the right.

The work is of the first century A. D.

18. *Altar of Dispater and Hercules.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 269B.

*CIL*, VI, 139; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 489.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 50.

A very small marble altar, with moulded base and cornice. At the sides of the top are small *pulvini* of the same diameter throughout. They are decorated with a single row of long pointed leaves. The ends of the *pulvini* are finished with a plain band, so the leaves do not extend their entire length. A similar band passes about the middle of the *pulvini*. Between the *pulvini* the front and back faces rise in a low curve. A shallow quadrangular depression is thus formed in the top.

19. *Altar of the Genius Horreorum.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 634A.

*CIL*, VI, 235; *ILS*, 3663; Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.*, III, 15, p. 462; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 736.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 78.

A medium sized marble altar, with moulded base, cornice and sides. The top has small *pulvini* at the sides, which





ALTAR OF THE DIOSCURI. No. 21.

contract slightly at the middle and taper toward the end. They are decorated with long slender overlapping leaves, and are bound about the middle with a narrow *balteus*. The ends are worked in rosettes. The top is flat at present, though its appearance suggests that it may have been cut off. The front between the *pulvini* is adorned with volutes ending at the middle in rosettes.

The altar dates from the year 75 A. D.

20. *Altar of Hercules.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 292A.

*CIL*, VI, 262 = XIV, 3905; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 504.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 51.

Fine-grained bluish marble. Height, .48 m.; breadth, .355 m.; depth, .28 m.

The base, cornice and sides are simply moulded. The top is occupied by two cushionlike elevations, running from side to side of the altar, and not from front to back, like the ordinary *pulvini*. On the right face is a *patena*, on the left an *urceus*. On the front face below the inscription is a sunken circle, .14 m. in diameter, in the midst of which is a deep round hole. This, as has been pointed out,<sup>89</sup> can hardly have served for libation purposes, but may have been due to the use of the altar at some period as a fountain head.

21. *Altar of the Dioscuri.*

Forum. Precinct of Juturna.

*RM*, Vol. XV, 1900, p. 343; Vol. XVII, 1902, pp. 68 ff.; *NS*, Ser. V, Vol. VIII, 1900, p. 292; Ser. V, Vol. IX, 1901, pp. 94 ff.; *BC*, Vol. XXXI, 1903, p.

<sup>89</sup> Amelung, *l. c.*

192, n. 1; *Neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. IX, 1902, p. 379; Marucchi, *Le Forum Romain*, p. 194; Hülsen-Carter, *The Roman Forum*, pp. 166-167; Platner, *Ancient Rome*<sup>2</sup>, p. 219.

Illustrated: *NS*, 1901, pp. 95-99; Hülsen-Carter, *op. cit.*, figs. 93 and 94; *Neue Jahrbücher*, l. c., fig. 4; Photo. Moscioni, 6763.

Fine-grained white marble with grayish veins. Height, 1.40 m.; breadth, .82 m.; depth, .60 m.

The altar was found in the spring of 1900, during the excavation of the *Lacus Juturnae*. It stands on a high plinth, above which are three mouldings, an astragal, a cyma reversa and a cyma recta, carrying the profile inward. The cymae are adorned with leaf patterns. The various faces are framed by a broad flat band, followed by a cyma reversa with a leaf pattern, within which the field is deeply recessed. A ledge is thus formed, on which stand the figures sculptured in high relief. The cornice is composed of an astragal, and two cymae with patterns similar to those of the base. Above the cornice is a plinth of considerably smaller dimensions, flanked by *pulvini*. They contract at the middle, where they are bound by a *balteus* with beaded edges, and a similar band is used again just before the end. The ends are worked in five-petaled rosettes, and long slender leaves with entire edges adorn them lengthwise.

On one of the long sides of the altar are represented the Dioscuri, nude except for the chlamys fastened on the right shoulder. They wear the high pointed cap or *pileus* with a star at the apex, and carry a spear in the right hand and a sword in the left.<sup>40</sup> On one of the short sides is rep-

<sup>40</sup> For this type, probably of Alexandrian origin, cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, II, p. 109, 4.





ALTAR OF JUTURNA. No. 22.

resented Jupiter, standing with his right hand resting on his spear. His himation is thrown loosely over his left shoulder, leaving the upper part of the body bare. Leda and the swan occupy the other short side. As in the case of Jupiter, the upper part of the body is bare, but the himation passes in heavy folds about the figure, as if blown by the wind, forming a background for the head and torso. The swan crouches at her feet. On the fourth side is the figure of a woman, clad in a long Doric chiton, and holding in her hands a long torch. She has been identified as Diana Lucifera,<sup>41</sup> but it seems more reasonable to suppose that she is Helen in the guise of Selene.<sup>42</sup> Thus the family circle is complete.

The altar must date after the restoration of the *Lacus Juturnae* by Tiberius.

## 22. *Altar of Juturna.*

Forum. Precinct of Juturna.

*NS*, Ser. V, Vol. VIII, 1900, p. 202; Ser. V, Vol. IX, 1901, pp. 79 ff.; *BC*, Vol. XXVIII, 1900, p. 68; *RM*, Vol. XVII, 1902, p. 70; *Neue Jahrbücher*, Vol. IX, 1902, p. 378; Marucchi, *Le Forum Romain*, p. 192; Thédénat, *Le Forum Romain*, p. 280; Hülsen-Carter, *The Roman Forum*, pp. 169–170; Platner, *Ancient Rome*<sup>2</sup>, p. 216.

Illustrated: *NS*, 1901, p. 80; *Neue Jahrbücher*, *l. c.*, fig. 3; Hülsen-Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 170, fig. 96; Marucchi, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Photo. Moscioni, 6762A.

Marble. Height, .875 m.; breadth, .62 m.; depth, .395 m.

<sup>41</sup> So Thédénat and Marucchi, *op. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> Petersen, *RM*, Vol. XV, 1900, p. 343, Deubner, *Neue Jahrbücher*, *l. c.*, and Hülsen-Carter, *op. cit.*, follow this interpretation.

The altar was found in 1900, in the course of the excavations at the precinct of Juturna, lying on its face to serve as a step to a puteal. The base is formed by a plinth followed by three mouldings—an astragal and two cymae with leaf and tongue patterns. The front face is framed by a flat band, followed by a cyma reversa with a coarse leaf ornament. The field is deeply recessed. Two mouldings adorned with leaf patterns form the cornice. The top consists of a low plinth of smaller dimensions than the cornice, at the sides of which are *pulvini*. They are of the usual type—bound about the middle, and growing slightly smaller towards the ends, which are worked in five-petaled rosettes. Between the *pulvini* the top is slightly depressed, and has two shallow square holes, placed nearly opposite each other in the short axis. Boni suggests<sup>43</sup> that they may have been used for the attachment of some accessory at the time of sacrifice.

On the front of the altar are represented a man and a woman, apparently in lively conversation. The man, who stands at the left, wears a tunic and cuirass, over which is a chlamys, fastened on the left shoulder. He carries a spear and a shield. The woman wears a Doric chiton and himation, and holds a scepter in her left hand. Her right arm is outstretched towards the man. There is little doubt that these figures represent Turnus and Juturna, as they are described by Vergil.<sup>44</sup> On the right face is a *patera* in high relief, on the left an *urceus*.

The style of the work seems to be that of the time of Severus.

#### CLASS II, B

#### 23. *Altar of Sol Invictus Mithras.*

Museo Nazionale.

<sup>43</sup> *NS*, 1901, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>44</sup> *Aen.*, XII, 872-886.





ALTAR OF HERCULES PRIMIGENIUS. No. 24.

*CIL*, VI, 3724 = 31041.

Marble. Height, 1.04 m.; breadth, .43 m.; depth, .32 m.

The altar was found near the Ministry of Finance. The base, cornice and sides of the different faces are simply moulded. On the right side is a *patera* in relief, on the left an *urceus*. There are no *pulvini*, but the front has simple horn-shaped appendages at the corners.

24. *Altar of Hercules Primigenius.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, VI, 30907; *ILS*, 3433; *NS*, Ser. 4<sup>o</sup>, Vol. IV, 1888, p. 571; *BC*, Vol. XVI, 1888, p. 405.

Coarse-grained marble. Height, including top, 1.05 m.; without top, .87 m.; breadth, .46 m.; depth, .385 m.

The altar was found near the Porta Salaria in 1888. The base, cornice and sides are moulded. The top is furnished with pointed horns at the four corners. Between those of the front face rises a pointed *fastigium*, or gable, in which is an eagle with outspread wings in low relief. Palmettes fill the spaces at the sides. Between the horns of the sides and the *fastigium* of the front face the upper surface of the altar is elevated to about the height of the horns, thus presenting a flat raised surface .22 m.  $\times$  .15 m. On the right face is a *patera* in relief, on the left an *urceus*.

25. *Altar of Neptune.*

Museo Laterano.

*CIL*, XIV, 3558; *ILS*, 3292.

Coarse marble. Height, at center, .775 m.; breadth, .435 m. The altar is built into a wall, so its original depth cannot be ascertained.

The base, cornice and sides of the faces are moulded. The top, which is set back from the cornice, has blunt horns at the corners. Between them the top is carried over in a gentle curve, which rises to the same height as the horns. On the right face is a *praefericulum* and above it an *arcula*.

26. *Ara Taurobolata*.

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 31.

*CIL*, XIV, 39; *ILS*, 4155.

A marble altar of medium size, found at Ostia or Portus. The front face has small horns at the corners. Except for these the upper surface is flat. The consular date assigns it to the year 199 A. D.

27. *Altar of Aesculapius*.

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 196.

*CIL*, VI, 17; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 301.

A small marble altar, with simply moulded base, cornice and sides. On the right face a *patera* is represented, on the left an *urceus*. At the corners are hornlike appendages, between which the front face is carried upward with a boldly curving outline.

CLASS II, C

28. *Altar of Diana*.

Museo Nazionale, Court, 102.

*CIL*, VI, 30861; *NS*, Ser. 4<sup>a</sup>, Vol. II, 1886, p. 52; *BC*, Vol. XIV, 1886, p. 88.

Marble. Height, 1.04 m.; breadth, .475 m.; depth, .505 m.

The altar was found in 1886, in a pozzolana pit, on the Via Ardeatina. It is unusually well preserved. The base, cornice and sides are moulded, and the top is flat.

29. *Altar of Dispater.*

Museo Nazionale, Court, 78.

*CIL*, VI, 137.

A plain marble altar, with moulded base, cornice and sides. Height, .975 m.; breadth, .67 m.; depth, .47 m. The top is flat.

On the right face is a *patera* in relief, on the left an *urceus*.

30. *Altar of Lares Augusti.*

Museo Nazionale, Court, 47808.

*CIL*, VI, 446; *ILS*, 3612.

A fragmentary marble altar. Present height, 1.03 m.; breadth, .70 m. The original depth cannot be determined.

The altar was found in 1676, on the island of the Tiber. At the corners are olive branches, between which is a wreath of oak leaves. The base is moulded. The top is much broken, but appears to have been flat originally.

31. *Altar of Liber.*

Museo Nazionale, Court.

*CIL*, VI, 30965; *NS*, Ser. 3<sup>e</sup>, Vol. XIII, 1884, p. 375; *BC*, Vol. XII, 1884, p. 39, no. 765.

Pavonazzetto marble. Height, .82 m.; breadth, .46 m. The original depth cannot now be determined.

The altar was found near the Villa Farnesina in 1884. It has a simply moulded base and cornice and a flat top. The letters are poorly cut.

32. *Altar of Lucina.*

Museo Nazionale, Court, 306.

*CIL*, VI, 3695 = 30918; Visconti e Lanciani, *Guida del Palatino*, p. 67.

A circular marble altar. Height, 1.01 m.; diameter, .525 m.

This altar, together with a similar one dedicated to Minerva (no. 33), was found in the Farnese Gardens on the Palatine, near the *Clivus Victoriae*. The base and cornice are simply moulded. The decoration consists of three wreaths tied with ribbons. The wreaths are lighter than those of the altar of Minerva, and the ribbons are longer and more flowing.

33. *Altar of Minerva.*

Museo Nazionale, Court, 309.

*CIL*, VI, 3704 = 30981; Visconti e Lanciani, *Guida del Palatino*, p. 67.

Marble. Height, 1 m.; diameter, .52 m.

This altar was found together with the altar dedicated to Lucina (no. 32), which it closely resembles in decoration.

34. *Altar of Sanctissimus Hercules Invictus.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, VI, 327; *ILS*, 3446.

A plain marble altar with moulded base, cornice and sides. Height, .59 m.; breadth, .34 m.; the depth cannot now be determined.

The inscription dates the altar in the year 149 A. D.

35. *Altar of Isis.*

Museo Capitolino, Court, 24.

*CIL*, VI, 344.

Marble. Height, .865 m.; breadth, .42 m.; depth, .41 m.

The base and cornice are moulded and the top is flat. A *cista mystica* is represented on the front face. It is decorated with a crescent moon and ears of wheat, and a snake is coiled about the top. On the right face is Anubis with a palm branch, and on the left face Horus holding a cornucopia. He is nude except for a cloak thrown over the left shoulder. On the back are represented the *patera*, *urceus* and sacrificial knife.

36. *Altar of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, VI, 402; *ILS*, 4396; Helbig, *Führer*, I, pp. 353–354; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 312; Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*, no. 249.

Illustrated: Strong, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCVII; Altmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 149.

This large marble altar was found in 1745 on the Via Appia, between S. Sebastiano and the tomb of Caecilia Metella. The top and bottom are broken. The fields of the various faces are surrounded by simple mouldings.

The front face is occupied by an oak wreath tied with ribbons, within which the inscription is placed. The execution of the wreath is admirable. On the right face is a representation of a trophy, at the left of which stands a figure of Victory, while the goddess Roma is at the right, seated on a rock. The left face represents the preparations for a sacrifice. At the left is a *victimarius* leading a bull, and at the right stands a man, probably the dedicator Scipio Orfitus himself. His head is veiled with his toga for sacrifice and he holds a *patera* in his right hand.

The back of the altar is occupied by a scene the meaning of which is not clear. In the background is seen a walled town, whose towers and trees appear above the enclosure.

A garland suspended from the wall indicates a festival of some kind. In the right foreground before the city gate is *Tellus*, reclining on the ground, in an attitude similar to that which she has on the cuirass of the Augustus found at Prima Porta.<sup>45</sup> Her left arm is thrown about the child at her side, while her right hand holds her mantle extended, disclosing the fruits with which her lap is piled. At the left, mounted upon a bull charging towards *Tellus*, is a man in armor, possibly the representation of an emperor. He holds a cornucopia in his left hand and a branch of laurel in his right. The shape of the head has suggested an identification with Caracalla, whose devotion to the cult of Serapis is well known,<sup>46</sup> but the head is too mutilated to make this certain. A more trustworthy means of dating is afforded by the inscription, since this Scipio Orfitus is probably to be identified with the Lucius Cornelius Scipio Orfitus who offered a *taurobolium* in the year 295 A. D.<sup>47</sup>

### 37. *Altar of Mercury.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, VI, 518 = 30784; *ILS*, 3190.

An altar of peperino having the form of a truncated cone. Height, .505 m.; diameter of upper surface, .47 m.

The top is flat. The base and cornice are decorated with egg and dart mouldings and astragals and with guttae. The character of the letters points to the time of the Republic.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der Gr. u. Röm. Sculptur*, Pl. 225; Strong, *op. cit.*, Pl. III.

<sup>46</sup> Hülsen in *Rhein. Mus.*, N. F., Vol. XLIX, 1894, pp. 394-396.

<sup>47</sup> *CIL*, VI, 505, 506; *ILS*, 4143, 4144. Strong and Altmann accept the later date, but Helbig on grounds of style prefers the time of Caracalla.

38. *Altar of Deus Sanctus.*

Palazzo dei Conservatori.

*CIL*, VI, 2807 = 32582; *ILS*, 4068.

Marble. Height, .455 m.; breadth, .195 m.; depth, .185 m.

The base and cornice are moulded. The top presents an interesting variation from the usual types. It is flat, but on the front and sides are represented in very shallow relief the horns so frequently found worked in the round. The front is further elaborated by a circle in relief between the horns. The work is rough, and this device may have been used to suggest the more elaborate and expensive form.

39. *Altar of Silvanus.*

Palazzo dei Conservatori.

Marble. Height, .68 m.; breadth, .315 m.; depth, .22 m.

The base and cornice are not differentiated, but a flat moulding frames the front face, on which the inscription is cut. The top is flat. The workmanship is poor.

40. *Altar of Deus or Dea.*

Museo Laterano, Room XXI.

*CIL*, I, 1114 = XIV, 3572; *ILS*, 4017.

Travertine. Height, .885 m.; breadth, .365 m.; depth, (at present), .10 m.

The altar was found at Tibur. Only the base is moulded; the top is flat. The depth was probably much greater originally than it is at present, as the back has been cut away to allow the altar to be built into the wall.

41. *Altar of the Dioscuri.*

Museo Laterano, Room XIII, 888.

*CIL*, XI, 3777; *ILS*, 3387; Benndorf-Schöne, *Die Antiken Bildwerke des Lat. Museums*, p. 335, no. 478.

Marble. Height, .915 m.; breadth, .72 m.; depth, .50 m.

The altar was found at Veii, perhaps in the excavations of 1810. The base and sides are moulded and the top is flat. On each of the side faces is a spear and a *pileus* ornamented with a star. The dedicator may be identical with a C. Julius Merula who is mentioned in an inscription of 26 A. D.<sup>48</sup>

42. *Altar of Hercules (Ara Giustiniani).*

Museo Laterano.

*CIL*, VI, 277; Jahn's *Jahrbuch*, Vol. XLI, 1844, p. 101; Vol. XLIII, 1845, p. 449; *Annali*, Vol. XXXVI, 1864, p. 317; Benndorf-Schöne, *Die Antiken Bildwerke des Lat. Museums*, pp. 322 ff.

Grayish Greek marble. Height, .83 m.; breadth, .58 m.; depth, .46 m.

The back side of the altar, which was formerly walled up in the Palazzo Giustiniani, is the best preserved. The base and cornice are formed of slightly projecting mouldings; the top is flat. Between the two parts of the inscription, which is cut on the front face, is a group in very low relief. In the middle is an altar of the same type as the large altar on which it appears. It has a moulded base and cornice, and is adorned with reliefs on the front face. The details are scarcely distinguishable, but it seems to be decorated with garlands, and some object, perhaps a burning offering, lies on it. At the right of the altar is Minerva, facing to the left. She wears a long girdled chiton, helmet and aegis. A shield is on her left arm, and a spear

<sup>48</sup> *CIL*, XI, 3805, line 22.

in her left hand. Her right arm is extended, as if to hand some object, which cannot now be made out, to Hercules, who stands at the left of the altar. His right hand is extended to receive this object, or perhaps to make a libation. He is nude, and carries the lion skin on his left arm, and the club over his left shoulder. The twelve labors are represented on the four sides of the altar, running from right to left. They follow the usual arrangement, except on the third side, where the order is the reverse of that usually found.<sup>49</sup>

The details of the various groups can no longer be made out. The head of Hercules is preserved only in the scene of the cleansing of the Augean stables. The hair is arranged in semi-archaic fashion, in small round curls. The execution of the whole is fairly good.

43. *Altar of Jupiter Custos.*

Museo Laterano, Room XXI.

*CIL*, XIV, 3557.

A quadrangular marble altar. Height, .755 m.; breadth, .47 m.; present depth, .125 m.

The base is formed of projecting mouldings; the top and sides have flatter mouldings. The altar is much broken, but the top appears to have been flat originally. On the right face is a *patera*.

44. *Altar of Pantheus.*

Museo Laterano, Room IV.

*CIL*, VI, 559; *Annali*, Vol. XVI, 1844, p. 87.

A quadrangular marble altar. Height, .89 m.; breadth, .41 m.; depth, .41 m.

The base, cornice and sides of the different faces are moulded. The top, now much broken, was originally flat.

<sup>49</sup> Klugmann, *Annali*, l. c.

45. *Altar of Pietas.*

Museo Laterano.

*CIL*, XI, 3779; *ILS*, 3791; *Annali*, Vol. XVIII, 1846, pp. 244 ff.; *Bulletino*, 1847, pp. 79 ff.

Illustrated: *Mon. dell' Inst.*, IV, 1844, Tav. 36.

Marble. Height, .64 m.; diameter, .50 m.

The altar is round, with a decided increase in diameter at the middle. It was found at Veii, in the early part of the nineteenth century. The decoration, in high relief, consists of four lyres, between which is suspended a heavy garland of fruits, grains and flowers. Below the garland are four symbols of Vulcan—an anvil, a hammer, a pair of tongs and a *pileus* adorned with a spray of olive.

Canina first pointed out that this altar was an imitation of the *puteal Libonis*.<sup>50</sup>

46. *Altar of Apollo.*

Vatican, Sala della Biga, 622.

*CIL*, XI, 3572; *ILS*, 3227.

A plain quadrangular marble altar, with a moulded base and cornice and a flat top. A *patera* is represented on the right face, an *urceus* on the left.

47. *Altar of Bona Dea.*

Vatican, Belvedere.

A small quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base and cornice and pilasters at the sides. The top is flat.

48. *Altar of Diana.*

Vatican, Belvedere.

*CIL*, VI, 125.

Illustrated: Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, II, Taf. IV, 24.

<sup>50</sup> *Annali*, l. c.

A small quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base, cornice and sides. The top is flat.

49. *Altar of Fortuna.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 269D.

*CIL*, VI, 172; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 489.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 50.

A small quadrangular marble altar, with rudely moulded base and cornice. The top is flat.

50. *Altar of Genius Centuriae.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 175.

*CIL*, VI, 211.

A marble altar with simply moulded base, cornice and sides. The top is flat. On the right face is a *patera* in relief; on the left an *urceus*.

The consuls mentioned in the inscription held office in 174 A. D.

51. *Altar of Genius Familiae.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 62B.

*CIL*, VI, 239.

Illustrated: Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, Taf. 37.

A quadrangular marble altar of moderate size. A number of simple mouldings form the base and cornice and frame the different faces. The top is flat.

52. *Altar of Genius Noricorum.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria.

*CIL*, VI, 250; *ILS*, 3675; Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.*, III, 15, 471.

A small quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base, cornice and sides. The top is flat.

53. *Altar of Hercules.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 188.

*CIL*, VI, 308; *ILS*, 3439.

A large quadrangular marble altar. Height, 1.38 m.; breadth, .50 m.

The altar was found in 1869, on the Via de' Balestri. The base, cornice and sides are simply moulded; the top is flat. The date, as shown by the inscription, is 193 A. D.

54. *Altar of Hercules Comes et Conservator.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti.

*CIL*, VI, 30734.

Illustrated: Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, Taf. 57.

A large quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base, cornice and sides. The top is flat.

55. *Altar of Hercules and Silvanus.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 197.

A plain quadrangular marble altar. The top is much broken, but appears to have been flat originally. A *patera* is represented on the right face, an *urceus* on the left.

56. *Altar of Isis.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 19A.

*CIL*, XIV, 20.

Illustrated: Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, Taf. 34.

A quadrangular marble altar of moderate size, found at Ostia. The base, cornice and sides are moulded; the top is flat. The *patera* and *urceus* appear as usual.

57. *Altar of Juno.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti.

*CIL*, VI, 367; *ILS*, 4322; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 421.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 43.

A small quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base and cornice; the top is flat. The inscription dates it in the year 218 A. D.

58. *Altar of Jupiter.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 61.

*CIL*, VI, 411; *ILS*, 4314.

A small marble altar found on the Aventine. The base and cornice are moulded; the top is flat.

59. *Altar of Jupiter.*

Vatican, Belvedere.

*CIL*, VI, 433; *ILS*, 3042; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, II, p. 227.

A plain quadrangular marble altar, with flat top. The dedicator is Nummius Albinus. A man by this name was consul in 206 A. D., and another Nummius Albinus held the office in 246 and again in 263.

60. *Altar of Lares Augusti.*

Vatican, Belvedere.

*CIL*, VI, 876; *Annali*, Vol. XXXIV, 1862, pp. 305 ff.; *AZ, NF*, Vol. IV, 1872, p. 122; Roscher, *Lexicon*, II, 1897; *RM*, Vol. XVI, 1901, pp. 238 and 240; Vol. XXI, 1906, pp. 299–300; Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*, p. 175, no. 230; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, II, pp. 242 ff.

Illustrated: *RM*, 1906, p. 300 (one side); Amelung, *op. cit.*, II, Taf. XV, 87a and b.

Marble. Height, .95 m.; breadth, .97 m.; depth, .67 m.

The base consists of a low plinth, followed by three mouldings—a torus adorned with scalelike leaves; a cyma reversa with a delicate design in which pairs of acanthus leaves alternate with star-shaped flowers, and a concave moulding with a leaf design. No other mouldings occur on the altar, which has a flat top.

On the front of the altar is represented a considerable elevation of ground, on which stands a flat pillar, with a laurel tree at either side. A Victory, poised on widely spread wings, is fastening a round shield to the pillar. The inscription is cut on the shield.

On the right side a scene of sacrifice is represented. Slender pilasters frame the face, from whose capitals a heavy garland is suspended. A rocky elevation is indicated, on which stands a square altar, adorned with a garland. The top is furnished with horns and the flames of the sacrificial fire are represented. At the right of the altar stands a man clad in a toga, with his head veiled for sacrifice. At the left of the altar, facing him, is a woman. Their right hands are extended over the altar, and each holds the figure of a Lar, of the usual type. Behind the man are two youthful male figures, and behind the woman two similar figures are dimly discernible. Above the garland between the pilasters are represented a *lituus*, a *patera umbilicata* and an *urceus*.

An apotheosis is represented on the back of the altar. At the left, moving to the right, is a quadriga drawn by winged horses, in which is a man wrapped in a mantle. Behind the chariot is a small toga-clad figure. At the right, facing the spectator, is the figure of a woman in tunic and mantle. A child, also in a toga, stands at either side, and the woman's right arm is extended toward the figure in the chariot. The scene is framed by a palm tree at the left and a laurel tree at the right. Above the woman,

appearing from the clouds, is *Caelus*, represented as a bearded man, holding a billowing mantle in his uplifted hands. At the left is represented the chariot of the Sun, between which and *Caelus* traces of an eagle are to be seen.

On the left side is a representation of the prodigy of the Alban sow. As on the other sides, a rocky elevation is indicated. A male figure is seated at the left, wrapped in a mantle and holding a roll in his hands. A second man stands at the right, leaning upon his staff. Between them on the ground is the sow, surrounded by her young.

The interpretation of the various scenes has been much discussed. The central figure in the apotheosis has been explained as Julius Caesar,<sup>51</sup> as Augustus,<sup>52</sup> and as Aeneas.<sup>53</sup> In the last case, the man standing at the left would be Ascanius, and the woman with the children would represent Lavinia with Romulus and Remus. If the deification of Caesar is represented, the other figures would be Augustus, Livia, Tiberius and Drusus.

The standing figure in the scene of the prodigy is commonly interpreted as Aeneas, though Amelung suggests that it may be merely a herdsman or Faunus. The seated figure with the roll evidently has some close connection with the oracle.

The male figure in the sacrificial scene is undoubtedly Augustus, and the reference is to his revival of the cult of the Lares.

The inscription on the shield of the front face gives the title of *Pontifex Maximus* to Augustus, an office which he first assumed in the year 12 B. C., so the altar must be later than that date.

<sup>51</sup> Altmann and Amelung, *l. c.*

<sup>52</sup> Rizzo, *EM*, Vol. XXI, 1906, p. 299.

<sup>53</sup> Amelung, *l. c.*

61. *Altar of Lares Augusti.*

Vatican, Sala delle Muse.

*CIL*, VI, 445; *ILS*, 3613; *Annali*, Vol. XXXIV, 1862, p. 304; Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*, p. 177, no. 234.

Illustrated: Altmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 142.

Height, .875 m.; breadth, .58 m.; depth, .72 m.

A square marble altar with a flat top. The base consists of a low plinth, above which is a torus with a scalelike pattern, and a cyma reversa adorned with leaves. The background of the different fields is deeply sunk, and framed by broad plain mouldings.

At the left of the front face stands Augustus, with his head veiled for sacrifice, holding a *patera* in his right hand. At the right are two Lares in short tunics, crowned with laurel. Each holds a *rhyton*, one in the right hand, the other in the left. The action of the other hands is not clear; they may have been joined, or they may have held *paterae*. Near them are two laurel trees. On the back of the altar are an oak wreath and two laurel branches.

On the right and left faces are identical scenes of sacrifice. A small quadrangular altar occupies the center of the scene. It has a moulded base and cornice and a flat top, and is adorned with a garland. Fruits are piled upon it. At the right of the altar stands a toga-clad man, pouring a libation; at the left is a similar figure, who seems to be scattering incense upon the altar. Behind the altar is a flute-player.

Above the sacrificial scenes is a band of ornament in low relief. It consists of three boucrania, between which are laurel branches tied with ribbons.

62. *Altar of Mercury.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, under no. 45.

*CIL*, VI, 516.

A quadrangular marble altar with moulded base and sides. The front and side faces are decorated with reliefs, which are much defaced. On the front, above the inscription, is a figure of Mercury with a ram. On the right face a *patera* is represented, on the left an *urceus*. Below the sacrificial vessel on each face is an animal in low relief, but it is impossible to make out what kind.

63. *Altar of Mithras.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 125A.

*CIL*, VI, 744.

Illustrated: Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, Taf. 41.

A quadrangular marble altar of moderate size. Simple mouldings form the base and cornice and frame the faces. The top is flat. The *patera* and *urceus* appear as usual.

64. *Altar of Mithras.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 591A.

*CIL*, VI, 724; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, 709.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op cit.*, I, Taf. 76.

A quadrangular altar of fine-grained gray marble. Height, 1.24 m.; breadth and depth, .62 m.

The base and cornice are formed of several simple mouldings, and similar mouldings frame the front face, on which the inscription is cut. Above the flat top is a circular section, whose diameter is equal to the width of the top. Coiling about this circular block is a crested serpent, holding in his mouth his bushy tail, on which is represented a crescent in relief. In each corner of the flat top is a deep round hole.

The inscription dates the altar in the year 194 A. D.

65. *Altar of Nemesis.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 516F.

*CIL*, VI, 531; *ILS*, 3739; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 654.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 69.

A tall narrow quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base and cornice. The top is flat.

66. *Altar of Pantheus.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 492A.

*CIL*, VI, 558; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 630.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 66.

A small quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base, cornice and sides. The top is flat. A *patera* is represented on the left face, an *urceus* on the right. It is to be noted that the usual position of the sacrificial vessels is reversed.

67. *Altar of Silvanus.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 516.

*CIL*, VI, 618; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 652; *Annali*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1866, p. 211, 1.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 69; *Annali*, l. c., Tav. I, 1, 2 and 3.

A quadrangular altar of fine-grained white marble. Height, .73 m.; breadth, .53 m.; depth, .24 m.

The base and cornice are moulded. The front face is occupied by the inscription. The right face is divided horizontally into two fields, of which the upper is the larger. It is filled by an oak tree, under which is a ram, facing to the left. In the lower field is a boar, also facing to the left. On the left face Silvanus is represented, standing on a flat rock, facing to the right. He is entirely nude, and holds an oak branch in his left hand. Seated on the

ground at the right is a dog, looking up at him. The front of the flat top has a volute design, but it is now much broken.

68. *Altar of Silvanus.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 211E.

*CIL*, VI, 627.

A small quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base and cornice. The top is flat.

69. *Altar of Silvanus.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 165.

*CIL*, VI, 646; *ILS*, 3570.

A small quadrangular marble altar. The base, cornice and sides of the different faces are simply moulded. The top is flat. On the right face is a *patera*, on the left an *urceus*. This may be a basis, and not an altar, as there are holes in the top, which may have served for the attachment of the feet of a statue.

70. *Altar of the Lares Augusti.*

Forum.

*CIL*, VI, 30954; *NS*, Ser. 3<sup>a</sup>, Vol. III, 1879, p. 286; *BC*, Vol. VIII, 1880, p. 12, no. 156; Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*, p. 179, no. 238.

Illustrated: Photo. Moscioni, 2448; Altmann, *op. cit.*, fig. 144.

Marble. Height, .95 m.; breadth, .59 m.; depth, .51 m.

The altar was found in 1879, in the Roman Forum, in front of the Temple of Deified Romulus. At the sides are unfluted pilasters, with capitals of a degenerate Ionic type. Above them the cornice projects sharply. The face be-

tween the pilasters is framed by simple mouldings. An eagle with outspread wings was represented as standing on the cornice, but only the lower part is preserved. The *pateria* and *urceus* are represented as usual. The rear of the altar has a small niche, in which an image of a Lar may once have stood.

## CLASS II, D

### 71. *Two altars of Hercules.*

Museo Nazionale.

*CIL*, VI, 30891; *NS*, Ser. 4\*, Vol. VI, 1889, p. 244; *RM*, Vol. VI, 1891, p. 149, and Vol. VII, 1892, p. 331.

Illustrated: *NS*, *l. c.*; *RM*, 1891, p. 149.

The two altars, bearing the same inscription, were found in 1889, near the Via Portuense. One is of travertine, the other of peperino. Height, .75 m.; breadth and depth, .50 m.

The altars belonged to a shrine of Hercules, which consisted of a small recess, stuccoed and painted. Before this recess, raised on two gradines, was a table, with traces of stucco decoration that seem to represent a dance. The altars when found were overthrown, but were intended to stand side by side before the table on a travertine base, .60 m.  $\times$  1.25 m.

The altars are exactly alike, except for the difference in material. The base and cornice are composed of simple fillet mouldings of various widths. The front and back faces, above the cornice, are finished by simple pointed gables. The sides have plain *pulvini* without decoration of any kind and of the same diameter throughout. The top of the altars is not cut down between the *fastigia* to form a flat surface, as is usually the case, but slopes upward to the line connecting the angles of the *fastigia*. In





ALTAR WITH PLANE LEAVES. NO. 73.

the center of this rooflike surface is a round shallow depression.

The shrine and the altars are perhaps to be dated by a *titulus* found in the same place in 1632,<sup>54</sup> dedicated to Hercules Victor by P. Plotius Romanus, who was *consul suffectus* at some period after the time of Marcus Aurelius. This dating is confirmed by the fact that at the shrine were found seven Roman portrait heads of the second century.

72. *Ara Taurobolata.*

Museo Nazionale.

A quadrangular marble altar of peculiar form. Height, .94 m.; breadth, at top, .22 m.; depth, at top, .175 m.

The altar is divided horizontally into three sections. The lowest, which occupies about three quarters of the entire height of the altar, slopes inward slightly from the simply moulded base. On the front face is a boucranium, above which is the inscription. The next section, with vertical outline, is decorated with acanthus leaves, one at each corner and one in the middle of each face, somewhat in the manner of the capital of a Corinthian pilaster. The topmost section is a low quadrangular block, considerably narrower than the section below it. In the top is a square hole.

73. *Altar with Plane Leaves.*

Museo Nazionale, Room XIX.

Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 34; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 69.

Illustrated: Wickhoff, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV; Strong, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI; Photo. Anderson, 4696.

Marble. Height, .74 m.; breadth, .865 m.; depth, .72 m.

<sup>54</sup> *CIL*, VI, 332.

The altar was found on the bank of the Tiber, on the site of the theater of Apollo. Its mouldings are especially rich. The base is formed of a cyma recta and a hawk's beak moulding, above two plain narrow mouldings. The cyma is adorned with an elaborate floral design, in which motives borrowed from palmette forms and leaf patterns may be recognized. The upper surface of the hawk's beak moulding has a simple tongue pattern. The cornice consists of a hawk's beak moulding with bold profile, decorated with a variant of the egg and dart pattern, in which heart-shaped motives alternate with shell-like forms. Below this is a beaded moulding. Each face of the altar is adorned with a boucranon and crossed plane branches. The boucrania are, to quote Mrs. Strong, "magnificent in their realism," while the delicate beauty of the plane leaves is almost unique in Roman art. The grace of the design and the masterly technique of the execution combine to make it one of the most charming examples of Roman art left to us. On grounds of style it is to be assigned to the Augustan Age.

The entire upper surface of the altar is occupied by a quadrangular depression, about .05 m. deep.

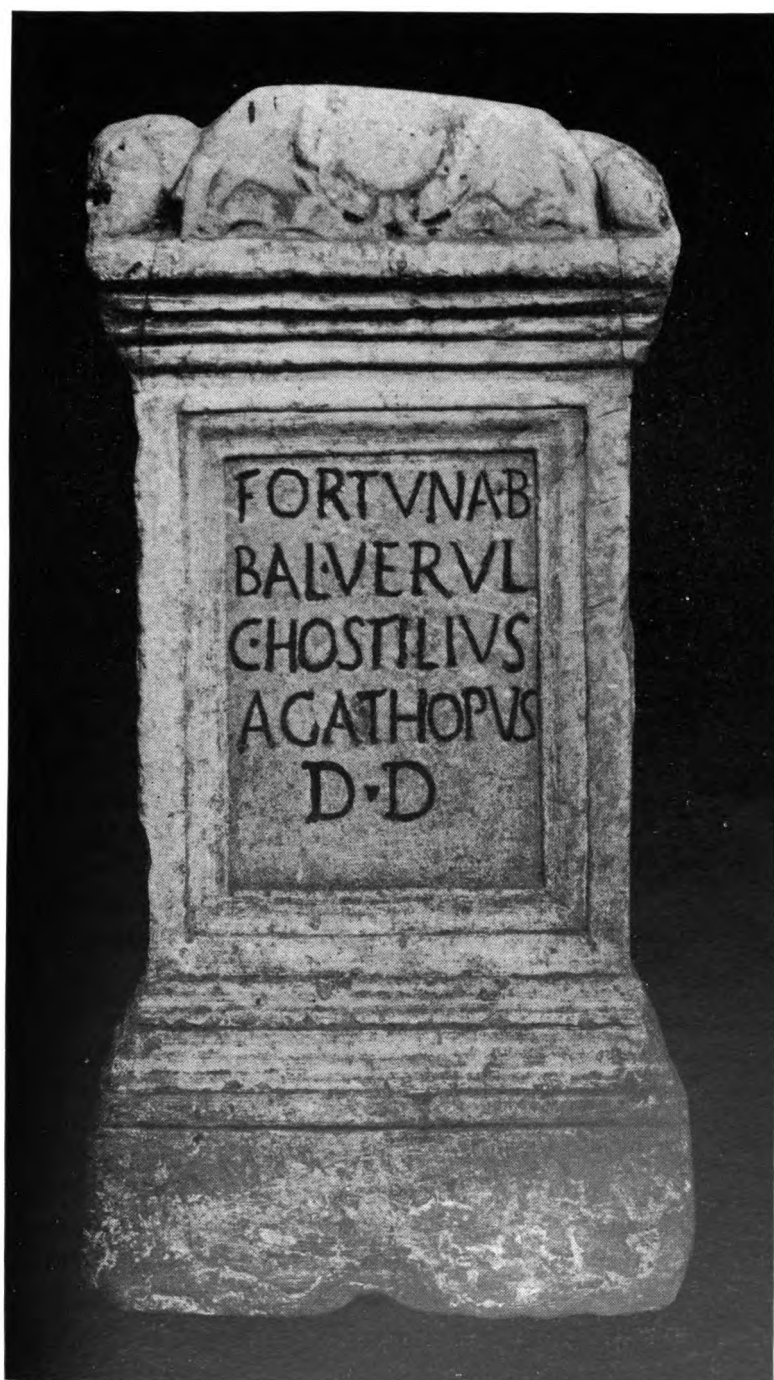
74. *Altar of Fortuna.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, VI, 182; *ILS*, 3720.

A quadrangular marble altar. Height, .76 m.; breadth, .31 m.; depth, .185 m.

The base, cornice and sides of the faces are moulded. The *patra* and *urceus* appear as usual. Above the cornice is a low quadrangular structure, with a square depression in the middle. The front face of this part is adorned with a wreath tied with ribbons. The four corners were origi-



ALTAR OF FORTUNA. No. 74.



nally decorated with representations of masks; the one on the rear left corner has been destroyed.

75. *Altar of Neptune.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, X, 6642; *ILS*, 3277; Wissowa, *Religion und Cultus der Römer*, p. 252.

Illustrated: Overbeck, *Atlas der Gr. Kunst-Mythologie*, III, Pl. XII, 19.

A round marble altar. Height, .63 m.; diameter, .36 m. It was found at Anzio, together with nos. 77 and 78.

The base and cornice are moulded. On the front is the projecting beak of a ship, below which is a standing figure of Neptune. He is nude, except for a cloak over the left shoulder. His left hand grasps a trident which rests on the ground, and in his extended right hand he holds a dolphin. The top has a circular cuplike depression.

76. *Altar of Sol, Luna, Apollo and Diana.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, VI, 31032.

Marble. Height, including top, 1.03 m.; without top, .89 m.; breadth, .43 m.; depth, .37 m.

The altar is said to have been found near the Porta S. Sebastiano. It has a moulded base, cornice and sides. A *patera* is represented on the right face, an *urceus* on the left. In the middle of the top is a depression, .28 m.  $\times$  .28 m. At the corners are low horns, between which the front face rises in a curve. The middle of this space is filled by a wreath with fluttering ribbons; palmettes adorn the horns, and birds fill the spaces between the wreath and the palmettes. The side faces are terminated by a straight line, which runs but little below the tips of the horns. Below

this line the outline of the horns is represented by chiseling, and a heavy line connects them a little above the base, as if to suggest the sunken space actually found on the top.

77. *Altar of Tranquillitas.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, X, 6643; *ILS*, 3278.

The form and the dimensions are the same as those of no. 75. Below the *rostrum* is a ship under full sail. A seated figure in the bow holds the sheets.

78. *Altar of Venti.*

Museo Capitolino.

*CIL*, X, 6644; *ILS*, 3279.

The form and dimensions are the same as those of no. 75. Below the *rostrum* is a flying figure with a trumpet at his lips. He is nude except for a cloak about the shoulders, which is blowing in the wind.

79. *Altar of Dii and Deae.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 119A.

*CIL*, VI, 100; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 384.

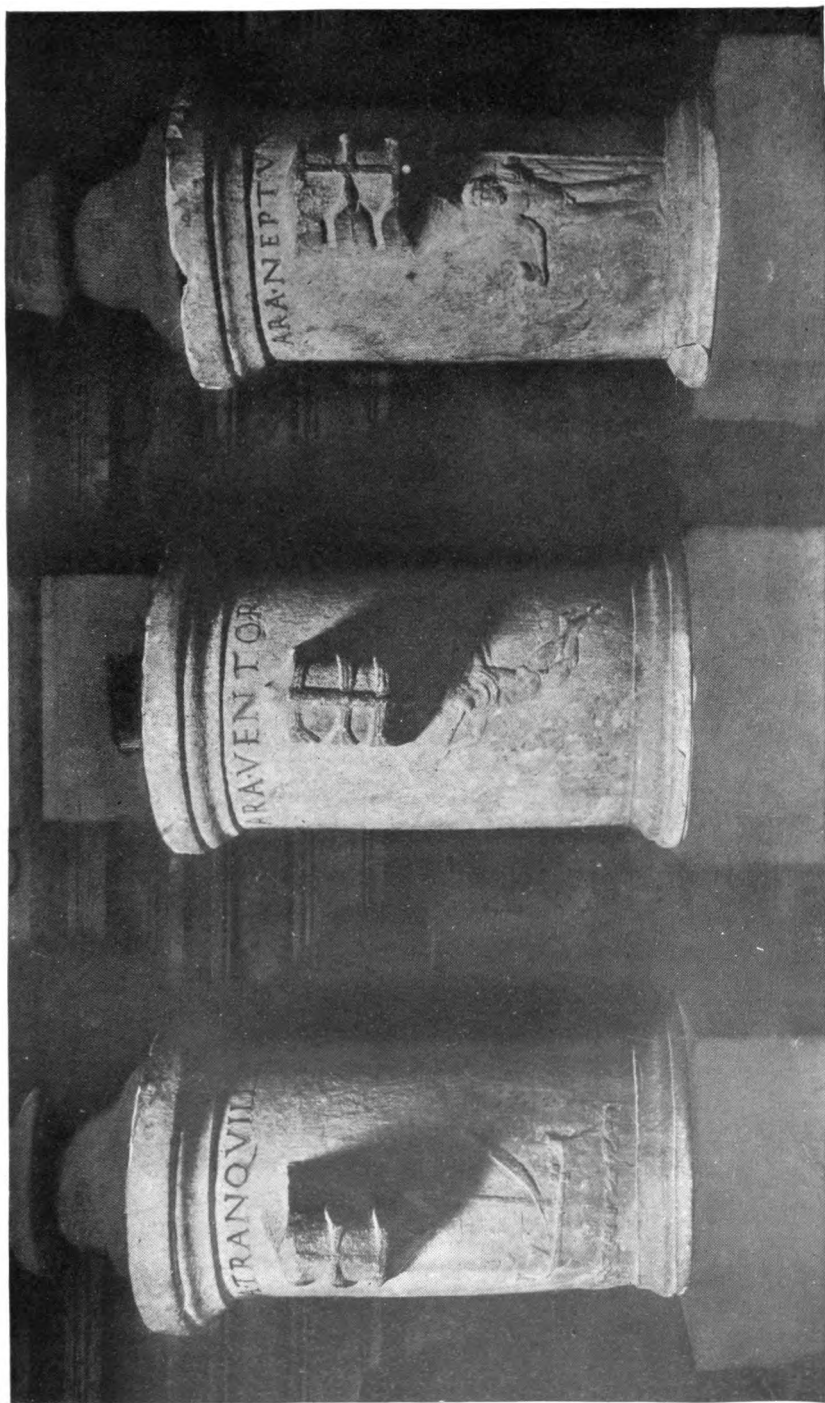
A small quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base and front face. The top has a circular ring.

80. *Altar of Fortuna.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 171.

*CIL*, VI, 183.

A small round marble altar with moulded base and top. On the front is a quadrangular panel, slightly recessed, on which the inscription is cut. The upper surface has a round shallow depression between which and the outer edge of the altar runs a sunken ring.



ALTARS OF TRANQUILLITAS, VENTI AND NEPTUNE. Nos. 75, 77 AND 78.



81. *Altar of Genius Centuriae.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 172.

*CIL*, VI, 208a; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 291; Ruggiero, *Diz. Epig.*, III, 15, 478.

A marble altar of cylindrical form, flattened in front. On the upper surface is a quadrangular depression. The altar dates from 130 A. D.

82. *Altar of Jupiter.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 424H.

*CIL*, VI, 290; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 590.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 61.

A very small quadrangular marble altar, with simply moulded base and cornice. The greater part of the top is occupied by a shallow square depression.

83. *Altar of Jupiter.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 22.

*CIL*, XIV, 2253; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 183.

A quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base, cornice and sides. The *patera* and *urceus* are represented in the usual positions. The top is much broken, but seems to have been flat, with a square depression in the middle.

84. *Altar of Silvanus.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 153.

*CIL*, VI, 698; *ILS*, 3569; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 280.

A small quadrangular marble altar, found on the Via Labicana. The base, cornice and sides of the faces are moulded. The top seems to have had a shallow depression in the middle.

85. *Altar of Silvanus.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 186.

*CIL*, VI, 608; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 295.

A small quadrangular marble altar, with moulded base, cornice and front face. The *patera* and *urceus* occur as usual. The top is broken, but appears to have had high points at front and back, with a depression in the middle running out to the sides.

86. *Altar of Sol Invictus Mithras.*

Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, 160.

*CIL*, VI, 745.

A quadrangular altar of coarse travertine. The base and cornice are rudely moulded. The workmanship throughout is rough, and the lettering poor.

The top is flat, with a shallow cuplike depression in the middle. This is surrounded by a ring raised to the same height above the surface of the top as the narrow band which runs around the edge of the upper surface. The consular date has not as yet been definitely determined. It may be 154 A. D. or 177 A. D.

87. *Altar of Stata Mater.*

Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 95F.

*CIL*, VI, 763; Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, I, p. 371.

Illustrated: Amelung, *op. cit.*, I, Taf. 38.

A small quadrangular marble altar, found in the eighteenth century, near Florence. The front face has a simply moulded base and cornice. The top is depressed between the front and rear faces, and in the middle of this depression are the remains of a metal clamp.

## DEVELOPMENT OF TYPES

The foregoing catalogue may suffice to show that Roman sacrificial altars present in general two widely different types—altars with curving profiles and those with straight profiles. Questions as to the origin of these two types and their historical and religious significance naturally arise, and an attempt must now be made to give an answer to these queries.

A study of the development of the first class of altars may well begin with a list of such altars and bases actually in existence, and of representations of them on urns and mirrors. Such a list has been given by Studniczka in an article in the *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*, Vol. VI, 1903,<sup>1</sup> and to this a few other examples have been added.

1. Statue base represented on an Etruscan mirror in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The date is about 500 B. C. Fig. 83 in Studniczka's article.

<sup>1</sup> *Altäre mit Grubenkammern*. The list is given in connection with a discussion of the two tufa bases under the "Black Stone" in the Roman Forum. Studniczka regards them as bases for the figures of lions mentioned in the accounts of the Grave of Romulus. (For the *testimonia* cf. Carter, *The Death of Romulus*, in *AJA*, Ser. II, Vol. XIII, 1909, pp. 19 ff.) Carter thinks they are "to be restored into the shape of the so-called altar to Aius Locutius on the Palatine, or the altar of Verminius discovered on the Viminal. . . . The two altars were in all probability ornamented above with *pulvinaria*, similar to the altar on the Palatine, which would preclude the placing of lions on them." Studniczka thinks the bases are not older than the fifth century B. C. or later than the second century B. C. The upper limit is probably correct, but as Hülsen has pointed out (*RM*, Vol. XX, 1905, pp. 41 ff.), altars and bases of this form continued to be used at least down to the time of Sulla.

2. Statue base represented on a relief from Marzabotto. Fifth or fourth century B. C. Studniczka, fig. 84.

3. An altar represented on a red-figured amphora in Leipzig. Beginning of the fourth century B. C. Studniczka, fig. 86.

4. An altar represented on a red-figured crater of Faliscan work. Fourth or third century B. C. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases Peints*, II, p. 157.

5. Altar from a representation of the sacrifice of Iphigenia on a cinerary urn of the second century B. C. in Perugia. Studniczka, fig. 87. Brunn, *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche*, I, Tav. 42, 14. A similar altar is shown in Brunn, *op. cit.*, I, Tav. 45, 21.

6. Altars, perhaps of Julia Moneta, represented on coins of the last two decades of the first century B. C., the originals being of course of earlier date. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, I, pp. 113, 257, 358; II, pp. 99, 251, 404, 524, 525.

7. Trachyte basis of a small cippus of polished serpentine, the typical grave-monument of the Necropolis of Volsinii-Orvieto. Probably fifth or fourth century B. C. Museo Archeologico, Florence. Studniczka, fig. 89. Cf. Gamurrini, *NS*, Ser. 4<sup>a</sup>, Vol. III, 1887, pp. 344 ff., Tav. VII, 1-7.

8. A similar basis in the Berlin Museum. *Beschreib. d. ant. Sculpt.*, 1244.

9. Altar of the *locus sacer* of Fiesole. Studniczka, fig. 88. Milani, *Rendiconti d. accad. d. Lincei*, Vol. IX, 1900, p. 295.

10. Miniature terra cotta altars from the Necropolis on the Esquiline, in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, and other collections. The profile is curved only on the sides; the front is flat for decoration in relief. The date is not much before 200 B. C. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, Vol. XI, 1879,

Tav. 10 and 10A. *Annali*, Vol. LI, 1879, pp. 253 ff.; LII, 1880, pp. 322 ff. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, III, 266.

11. Capital block of the statue basis of M. Claudius Marcellus, consul for the second time in 155 B. C. *CIL*, I, 539 = XI, 1339. In Florence.

12. Altar of Verminus. No. 1 in the foregoing catalogue. Studniczka, fig. 90.

13. Part of an altar, similar to the preceding. In the Antiquarium, Rome.

14. Altar of Bovillae. No. 2 in the catalogue. Studniczka, fig. 91.

15. Altar of Calvinus. No. 3 in the foregoing catalogue.

16. Altar on a sarcophagus from Chiusi. Studniczka, fig. 92. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, 1864-69, Vol. VIII, Tav. 2.

To these examples cited by Studniczka may be added the following:

17. Altar represented on an Etruscan cinerary urn. Brunn, *op. cit.*, I, Tav. LXIII, 32.

18. Altar represented on an Etruscan mirror. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, I, 38.

19. Altar represented on an Etruscan mirror. Gerhard, *op. cit.*, II, 239.

20. Altar represented on an Etruscan mirror, formerly in the Campana collection. Gerhard, *op. cit.*, IV, Taf. CCCLI, 1.

21. Altar represented on an Etruscan mirror in the Berlin Museum. Gerhard, *op. cit.*, IV, Taf. CCCLI, 2.

22. Altar represented on an Etruscan mirror in the Berlin Museum. Gerhard, *op. cit.*, IV, Taf. CCCLI, 3.

23. Altar represented on an Etruscan mirror. Gerhard, *op. cit.*, V, 36.

24. Altar represented on an Etruscan mirror. Gerhard, *op. cit.*, V, 128.

25. Basis represented on an Etruscan mirror. Gerhard, *op. cit.*, V, 144.

26. A round altar, with the characteristic curving profile and contraction at the middle, on a bronze relief in Copenhagen, of the first century A. D. Published by Blinkenberg, *Archaeologische Studien*, Taf. II. Same illustration, Roscher, *Lexicon*, article *Sabazios*, fig. 8.

27. Altar or basis in an Etruscan tomb painting. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, Vol. IX, 1870, Tav. XIII.

28. Altar or basis in an Etruscan tomb painting. *Antike Denkmäler*, II, 42.

The Etruscan character of the large majority of these examples is evident at once. With regard to only two or three of them can any doubt be felt. Studniczka makes no statement as to the workmanship of the red-figured amphora, no. 3, but it may well be Etruscan. Several of the triumvirs whose names appear on the coins under no. 6 belong to families of Etruscan origin,<sup>2</sup> which may lend some support to the assumption that the altars<sup>3</sup> represented on these coins reproduce Etruscan forms. The miniature terra cotta altars from the Esquiline have been thoroughly discussed by Dressel in the articles mentioned above. If his conclusions are correct,<sup>4</sup> "the altars . . . were probably manufactured in Latium, but were certainly made by Etruscan workmen." The additional examples of this form cited under nos. 17-28 are all undoubtedly

<sup>2</sup> Cf. for example, *Annius*, Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*, p. 122; *Sisenna*, Schulze, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Dressel pointed out, *Annali*, Vol. LI, 1879, p. 281, n. 4, that the objects represented on the series of coins were not anvils but altars. This is shown not only by the striking resemblance to certain altars, but also by the fact that in some instances garlands are used for decoration and flames are represented on the upper surface.

<sup>4</sup> *Annali*, l. c., p. 294. His conclusions are based on a comparison of the altars with *cistas* from Praeneste, and urns, mirrors and vases of Etruscan manufacture (pp. 285-286). The use of colors is also characteristically Etruscan (pp. 286-287).

Etruscan, with the possible exception of no. 26. It is not known where this relief was found, but the style seems to be Roman rather than Etruscan. Leaving out of account the few cases in regard to which any doubt may be felt, we still have convincing testimony that this type is essentially Etruscan.<sup>5</sup> The same fondness for curving or broken outlines may be seen in many of the architectural forms employed by the Etruscans.<sup>6</sup> The facts then seem to justify the belief that the Altar of Verminus, the altar from Bovillae and the Altar of Calvinus are Etruscan in form.

In view of the profound influence which Etruria exercised upon Rome, it is not surprising to find an essentially Etruscan type of altar taken over by the Romans. The people to whom Rome owed such important institutions as the science of augury, the *haruspicina* and the Capitoline Triad may well have left traces of their influence in lesser religious matters. It is quite possible that the men who dedicated the three Roman altars of this type came from families of Etruscan origin. This possibility finds support in the names of the dedicators, which in the case of the Altar of Verminus and the Altar of Calvinus show forms that are clearly Etruscan.<sup>7</sup> In view of these considerations it seems not altogether hazardous to venture the suggestion that the mysterious *Verminus* of the altar erected by A. Postumius Albinus may be an Etruscan divinity, whom the dedicator sought to honor by this monument erected in Rome. This hypothesis can hardly be tested, however, in the present state of our knowledge of the Etruscan language.

Why is it that so few altars of this type have been found in Rome? Its limited employment may have been due to

<sup>5</sup> The Etruscan character of this type has been pointed out before, for example, by Blinkenberg, *op. cit.*, note 54.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. for example, Martha, *L'Art Etrusque*, figs. 132, 151, 161.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Schulze, *op. cit.*, on *Sextius* and *Postumius*.

the theory suggested above: that it was a form favored especially by men of Etruscan ancestry, and so may never have been adopted by the great mass of the inhabitants of Rome. It seems to have been given up comparatively early, and possibly for that reason fewer examples of the type have been preserved. It is impossible now to determine the causes which led to its disuse. The explanation is perhaps to be sought in changing religious tendencies, and the coming in of other influences more or less opposed to the Etruscan; but of this we cannot be sure.

The question now arises as to whether this form was worked out by the Etruscans after they reached their final home on Italian soil, or whether they brought it with them in their migrations from earlier abiding places. This question involves the whole Etruscan problem, with all the difficulties which up to the present time at least seem almost incapable of solution. Yet some progress has been made in recent years, and it is now generally thought that the tradition preserved by Herodotus<sup>8</sup> is in its main outlines correct. According to this tradition the ancestors of the Etruscans came out of the East, and after various stops along the way finally came by sea to the southern and western coasts of Italy.<sup>9</sup> This theory of an eastern origin finds strong support in the similarity of many of the institutions of the Etruscans to those of the Babylonians.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> I, 94.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, article *Etrusker* by Körte, and *Historische Zeitschrift*, III, 12, 1912, pp. 1 ff., article by von Scala on *Die Anfänge Geschichtlichen Lebens in Italien*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, 6, 744; Carter, *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome*, p. 19, and especially *Die Etruskische Disciplin* by Thulin in *Göteborgs Högskolas Arsskrift*, Vol. XI, 1905. In the introduction to this last-named work these relations are discussed, and the similarity pointed out in matters of astrology and divination, especially the *haruspicina*, in the observation and interpretation of nature, and in various artistic and architectural forms. Mention

There seems to be little doubt that at one period of their history they were closely in touch with the civilization of the eastern Mediterranean basin. In the words of von Scala,<sup>11</sup> "Die Etrusker erscheinen . . . als ein Volk des kretisch-minoischen Kulturkreises, dem sie durch die Bewaffnung (Helm und Schwert), durch die Doppelaxt, durch die Haustypen und Grabbauten, durch Goldtechnik und Weissagungskunst, durch einzelne Buchstaben ohne dies nahezustehen schienen." The conclusion of von Lichtenberg<sup>12</sup> may also be cited: "Auf diese Weise gelangten die tyrrhenischen Turuscha nach Italien, wo es ihnen gelang, Teile der Westküste zu besetzen, durch Blutmischung auch weiter ins Innere ein zu dringen und so das Mischvolk der Etrusker und das etruskische Staatswesen zu begründen. Lange genug waren sie aber mit ägäischen Völkern auf der Wanderung gewesen, um auch von deren Kultus einiges auf zu nehmen, so dass auch die ältesten etruskischen Denkmäler neben sicher Fremden auch ägäische Bestandteile aufweisen."

Inasmuch as the theory of the Asiatic origin of the Etruscans is now held by many, a study of Etruscan altars will naturally include an examination of the altar-forms employed by the peoples of the Asiatic mainland. If we are to look to the East for the ancestors of the Etruscans, we may expect to find some resemblance between Asiatic altar-forms and those which as we have seen are decidedly characteristic of the Etruscan civilization. Religion is always one of the most conservative of the forces affecting mankind, and if these connections actually existed, it is reasonable to suppose that the religious institutions of the

should also be made of the work of Müller, Deecke, and Boissier in this connection. (Cf. Thulin, *op. cit.*, p. XII.)

<sup>11</sup> *Hist. Zeitschrift*, l. c., p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Die Aegäische Kultur*, p. 142.

peoples concerned would bear some witness to the fact. The characteristic Etruscan altar-form is so individual that when found among different peoples it may almost be accepted as proof that some close relationship existed between them. If, therefore, it can be shown that the peculiar form of altar which we have called the "Etruscan," and which as we shall see later was used also by the Myceneans and Cretans, occurs on the Asiatic mainland, it may be accepted as one more bit of evidence of a connection between Etruria and Babylonia.

A study of the Asiatic forms may conveniently be made with the help of two works by William Hayes Ward.<sup>13</sup> Here have been gathered together representations of Asiatic scenes of sacrifice, especially as found on the seal cylinders. The Babylonian altars show two distinct and clearly marked types. In the words of Ward,<sup>14</sup> "one of these is a square altar, reduced on one side near the top by a step, so that it constitutes two shelves."<sup>15</sup> "It was probably a light construction, of reeds or palmleaf stems, and so not suitable for the burning of a victim."<sup>16</sup> The earliest representation of this type is on "a very archaic shell cylinder which, if we can judge from its style, is considerably older than the time of Sargon I, whose date has been usually assigned, on the authority of Nabonidos, to 3800 B. C., although Lehmann and others who follow him believe that this date

<sup>13</sup> Appendix G to Curtiss' *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*. This appendix treats of *Altars and Sacrifices in the Primitive Art of Babylonia*. Also *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Chap. LXVI on *Altars and Sacrifices*.

<sup>14</sup> *Seal Cylinders*, p. 360. Cf. also Curtiss, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>15</sup> For illustrations cf. *Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1229-1233, and Curtiss, *op. cit.*, App. G, figs. 1-4. Five examples of this type are now known. Cf. also *AJA*, Ser. I, Vol. II, 1886, p. 263, fig. 30, and Vol. VI, 1890, Pl. XVIII, 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Seal Cylinders*, p. 361.

is a thousand years too early."<sup>17</sup> It is noteworthy that altars of similar form are occasionally found on Greek vases.<sup>18</sup>

Representations of the second type are more numerous.<sup>19</sup> This is what Ward has called the "hourglass" form.<sup>20</sup> The altar in these cases appears to be round, and is more or less contracted at the middle. In some instances it is absolutely plain, without mouldings at the top or bottom or at the middle.<sup>21</sup> A close parallel is afforded by the altars on the Mycenaean gems to be cited later,<sup>22</sup> which are likewise perfectly plain. The only noticeable differences are that the outline of the Mycenaean altars is sometimes represented by double lines, instead of a single one, as is invariably the case in the Babylonian forms, and that the sides of the Mycenaean altars show a more pronounced concave curve than do the Babylonian examples. The outline, however, is essentially the same.

In other instances the Babylonian altars have a single or double torus moulding at the narrowest point,<sup>23</sup> which is usually at the middle of the altar, though this is not always the case.<sup>24</sup> None of the Mycenaean altars show this fea-

<sup>17</sup> Curtiss, *op. cit.*, p. 267. For the most recent discussion of Sargon's date cf. *The Nation* for March 14, 1912, in which Professor Jastrow reviews a paper by Professor Vincent Sheil, of Paris. Sheil has shown, on the evidence of a new cuneiform tablet, that 2500 B. C. is the earliest possible date for Sargon.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. for example, a sacrificial scene on a black-figured amphora, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, fig. 164.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Curtiss, *op. cit.*, App. G, figs. 5-14; *Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1234-1248.

<sup>20</sup> Curtiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 269 ff.; *Seal Cylinders*, pp. 361 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Curtiss, *op. cit.*, App. G, figs. 5, 8, 10, 12, 13; *Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1239, 1240, 1243, 1245.

<sup>22</sup> For illustrations cf. *JHS*, Vol. XXI, 1901, figs. 36-38.

<sup>23</sup> Curtiss, *op. cit.*, App. G, figs. 6, 7, 9, 11, 14; *Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1235-1238, 1241, 1242, 1244, 1247, 1248.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. for example, *Seal Cylinders*, fig. 1242, where the narrowest diameter is above the middle, and fig. 1244, where it is below the middle.

ture, but a very close parallel is found in the altar on the bronze relief published by Blinkenberg<sup>25</sup> already referred to.<sup>26</sup> Here the altar, apparently, is round, which is not the case with Mycenaean altars, and it is bound by a torus moulding at the narrowest point. It differs from the Babylonian forms in having a base and top formed of separate plinths, and in having its sides fluted. In spite of these differences, it shows an astonishing similarity to the Babylonian examples. Other altars of the Etruscan form, such as the Altar of Bovillae,<sup>27</sup> although quadrangular in plan, have a torus at the narrowest point, and so are closely analogous to this Babylonian type. As a general rule, the diameter of the base and top in the Babylonian altars is the same, but in some cases, usually where the narrowest diameter is above or below the middle, one measure is greater than the other.<sup>28</sup>

A parallel for this peculiarity is again afforded by the Mycenaean gems<sup>29</sup> and by many of the examples cited in the list of Etruscan altars and bases.<sup>30</sup> An altar represented in *Seal Cylinders*, fig. 1241, bears an especial resemblance to some of the Etruscan forms.<sup>31</sup> Some of the Babylonian examples are exceedingly slender, almost columnar,<sup>32</sup> and others again are very thick.<sup>33</sup> These varia-

<sup>25</sup> *Archaeologische Studien*, pp. 66 ff. and Taf. II.

<sup>26</sup> No. 26 in the list of Etruscan altars and bases.

<sup>27</sup> No. 2 in the catalogue.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. for example, *Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1244, 1245, 1248; Curtiss, *op. cit.*, App. G, figs. 7 and 8.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *JHS*, Vol. XXI, 1901, p. 159, fig. 37.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. for example, nos. 1, 3, 7, 22.

<sup>31</sup> For example, no. 22 in the list of Etruscan altars and bases. Illustrated, Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, V, 36.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1235, 1239, 1240; Curtiss, *op. cit.*, App. G, figs. 8, 10, 11.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Seal Cylinders*, fig. 1247; Curtiss, *op. cit.*, App. G, fig. 14.

tions reappear in the Mycenaean and Etruscan forms. This "hourglass" type, also, is of extreme antiquity.<sup>34</sup>

The Assyrian, Persian and Hittite altars, as well as Babylonian, may be studied with the help of cylinders. The Assyrian forms<sup>35</sup> present greater variety than the Babylonian, but there is nothing very similar to the "hourglass" type. The altars represented in *Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1259–1261, have curving outlines and salient members, and so bear some resemblance to certain Etruscan forms. Representations of Persian altars are rare,<sup>36</sup> and when they do occur, there is no close resemblance to Babylonian forms. The same is true of Hittite altars.<sup>37</sup> A study of the available material shows that among Asiatic forms the "hourglass" type of altar is peculiar to Babylonia.

In view of what is generally accepted as a fact, namely, that the Etruscans at some period prior to their arrival in Italy were in close touch with the bearers of the Mycenaean-Cretan culture, a brief examination must be made of the forms which altars and bases assume in the lands affected by this civilization.

It is at once evident that altars or bases of the "Etruscan" type—*i. e.*, with incurving sides—were frequently used by the inhabitants of the eastern Mediterranean basin. Two familiar examples that have been known for many years occur on the Lions' Gate of Mycenae, and on the small gold "dove-shrines," three of which were found in the Fourth Shaft Grave of the Necropolis on the same site.<sup>38</sup> The form in each of these instances is practically

<sup>34</sup> *Seal Cylinders*, p. 361; Curtiss, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

<sup>35</sup> *Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1253–1261; Billerbeck and Delitzsch, *Die Palasttore Salmanesers II von Balawat*, Taf. IA; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, II, figs. 107–109.

<sup>36</sup> *Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1262–1264.

<sup>37</sup> *Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1266–1268.

<sup>38</sup> For illustrations cf. Schliemann, *Mycenae and Tiryns*, Pl. III and fig. 423.

the same. The sides curve inward strongly, and plain quadrangular plinths form the base and upper member. It is difficult to determine whether the structures on the Lions' Gate are altars or bases. Evans, whose wide acquaintance with Mycenaean forms makes his opinion authoritative, regards them as altars.<sup>39</sup> In either case the relief is valuable, as giving us a representation of the Mycenaean altar or basis on a large scale. Considering the fact that the small gold reliefs are generally regarded as representing a triple shrine, there can be little doubt that the object apparently on the roof of the central part of the sanctuary is an altar. Evans describes it as a "Mycenaean altar of the ordinary type."<sup>40</sup> At least three other altars of this form are represented on gems from Mycenae. In each case the altar serves as a base on which rest the forepaws of two heraldically opposed animals, as on the Lions' Gate. On the first gem<sup>41</sup> the representation of the altar is very similar to that on the dove-shrines. The sides are represented by two strongly curving lines on each side, the innermost of which meet at the center; the quadrangular base and top are represented by parallel lines. At the sides of the top, projecting but little above the upper surface, are almond-shaped appendages. The altar on the second gem<sup>42</sup> differs from the others in having a base which is only about half the width of the top. The upper surface in this case is finished at the sides by round appendages. The third gem<sup>43</sup> shows an altar of similar form,

<sup>39</sup> *JHS*, Vol. XXI, 1901, p. 157.

<sup>40</sup> *JHS*, l. c., p. 191.

<sup>41</sup> Illustrated, *JHS*, l. c., p. 158, fig. 36; Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 254, fig. 131; Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, III, p. 44, fig. 18.

<sup>42</sup> Illustrated, *JHS*, l. c., p. 159, fig. 37; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1888, Pl. X, 30; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, 24.

<sup>43</sup> Illustrated, *JHS*, l. c., p. 159, fig. 38; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1888, Pl. X, 2; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, Pl. III, 23.

represented in a much simpler fashion. The top and bottom are not differentiated from the rest of the altar, as in the case of the other gems, and single lines are used for the upper and lower surfaces. The base is slightly broader than the top.

A fourth gem, from the Idaean Cave in Crete, shows an altar closely resembling this in form. The chief difference is that the top slightly exceeds the base in breadth. This series of six representations may be sufficient to show that altars and bases of the "Etruscan" form were used by the Mycenaeans and Cretans, particularly in their tree and pillar cult.<sup>44</sup> As in the case of the Etruscans, this type may have been derived from the Asiatic mainland.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that altars with curving outlines and boldly projecting members are found in Rome itself, in Etruria, in various parts of the eastern Mediterranean basin, and in Babylonia. Although these altars present many individual variations, they all show these strongly marked peculiarities, and these features are so characteristic that they may be regarded as affording some evidence of a connection among the peoples who employed these forms. Such connections have indeed long been regarded as established in the case of some of the peoples with whom we are here concerned; in others they are little more than hypothetical. There is no doubt whatever that Rome was profoundly influenced by Etruria in matters of religion and art.<sup>45</sup> To what extent the Etruscans were indebted to the Aegean civilization is an open

"Although they do not afford an exact parallel in the matter of form, an interesting analogy is offered by the small stone "tables of offerings" which were found around the altar in the Dictaeon Cave, in Crete. They show the fondness of the Minoans for broken or curving outlines. Illustrated, *BSA*, Vol. VI, 1899-1900, Pl. XI, especially nos. 3 and 4.

"Cf. for example, Walters, *The Art of the Romans*, p. 14.

question,<sup>46</sup> but the survival of certain Mycenaean forms in the Etruscan civilization would seem to point to a contact between the two peoples at some period in their history. If the Etruscans arrived in Italy about 800 B. C.<sup>47</sup> it may well be that in their journey westward they were for a time under the influence of the last manifestations of the Aegean culture before its final eclipse by the brighter light of classical Greece. However that may be, and whatever the relations of the Aegean civilization to those of Asia may have been—and undoubtedly the influence of Asia upon the eastern Mediterranean basin was strong<sup>48</sup>—it seems clear that certain of the religious institutions of the Etruscans were derived from those of Babylonia, which renders extremely probable the theory that the Etruscans came out of the East.<sup>49</sup> To the evidence pointing to this conclusion already gathered may now be added the fact that Etruscan altars show many points in common with those employed by the Babylonians.

The second class of altars presents no problems of espe-

<sup>46</sup> Cf. for example, Blinkenberg, *Darstellungen des Sabazios*, in *Arch. Studien*, n. 54: "Ich war seit jeher der Meinung, dass die altetruskische Basis- und Altar-form von der mykenischen abgeleitet ist. . . . Mykenisches Erbgut findet sich ja auch in anderen altitalischen Kunstformen wieder." Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, 6, 746; "Ein direkter Einfluss mykenischer Kultur auf Mittelitalien ist sicherlich ausgeschlossen." (Körte.) Von Lichtenberg, *Die Aegäische Kultur*, p. 156: "So zeigt die ganze etruskische Kultur eine Vermischung einheimisch etruskischer, also doch kleinasiatischer Gedanken mit griechisch-ägäischen, wie ja auch das Volk selbst ein Mischvolk aus arischen und kleinasiatischen Elementen war." Cf. also Peet in *BBA*, Vol. XIII, 1906-1907, *The Early Aegean Civilisation in Italy*.

<sup>47</sup> Carter, *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome*, p. 17.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. von Lichtenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 137 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, 6, 744; Körte, *Die Bronzeleber von Piacenza* in *EM*, Vol. XX, 1905, pp. 348 ff., especially p. 377: "Die Etrusker haben die Kunst der Eingeweideschau allem Anschein nach noch in der alten kleinasiatischen Heimat übernommen, weiter ausgebildet wohl erst in Italien."

cial interest. The quadrangular altar with straight sides, the simplest and most easily constructed form, was used by all the ancient peoples that concern us here. The round altars were a later development of the same type, which was especially favored by the Greeks. The four subdivisions of Class II will be treated briefly in turn.

The *pulvinus* of many Roman sacrificial altars is a feature which is more or less distinctively Roman. It does not appear on Etruscan altars, and in its characteristic Roman form at least was not used by the Greeks. There are many examples of Greek altars the upper surface of which is treated like an Ionic capital,<sup>50</sup> but in no case are the *pulvini* as sharply differentiated from the central part of the upper surface as in the majority of Roman altars. An organic connection is always felt as existing between the *pulvini* and the surface between them. An Ionic capital has been extended laterally until it is wide enough to serve as the crowning member of the altar. In some cases a square plinth is placed above the *pulvini* in the fashion of an abacus,<sup>51</sup> so that the resemblance to a capital is further emphasized. Another essentially Ionic feature is the palmette which is sometimes placed in the angle of the volute,<sup>52</sup> as on the capitals of the Propylaea in Athens.<sup>53</sup> Again, a decorated moulding similar to the necking of a capital is sometimes added below the *pulvini*.<sup>54</sup> These facts show that this form of top in Greek altars<sup>55</sup> was archi-

<sup>50</sup> For example, *AZ*, N. F., III, 1871, Taf. 45, 33; *AJA*, Ser. II, Vol. IV, 1900, p. 185; Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, XL; *WV*, V, 6, 1-2; Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenmalerei*, 73.

<sup>51</sup> Heydemann, *Gr. Vasenbilder*, IX, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Overbeck, *Atlas*, V, 20, 9.

<sup>53</sup> Bohn, *Die Propylaeen der Acropolis zu Athen*, Taf. 12; Marquand, *Greek Architecture*, p. 198, fig. 231.

<sup>54</sup> *AZ*, Vol. XI, 1853, Taf. LV.

<sup>55</sup> Many of the representations of this type of Greek altar present a peculiar feature which cannot be readily explained by the existing

tecturally conceived and treated, which is not the case in the Roman altars that approach this form most nearly.<sup>56</sup> The Greek form is therefore fundamentally different from the *pulvinus*, which in many instances has little or no Ionic character. A dependence upon Ionic models is most clearly to be seen in the earliest dated Roman altar with *pulvini*—the altar of Calvinus on the Palatine. Here the upper surface between the *pulvini* is not flat, as in the later altars of this type, but is carried across in a shallow curve recalling the sagging channels of many Ionic capitals.<sup>57</sup> The similarity in style between this altar and the sarcophagus of Cornelius Scipio in the Vatican has already been mentioned. In the case of the sarcophagus the Ionic character is heightened by the floral forms, apparently lotos buds, placed in the angles of the volutes. A peculiar feature characteristic of the Corinthian style is found in the *cauliculi* from which the volutes spring.<sup>58</sup>

In the later altars, such as that of Silvanus found at monuments or by literary evidence. (*WV*, V, 6, 1-2; Murray, *Designs from Greek Vases in the British Museum*, IX, 33; *Annali*, Vol. XXI, 1849, Tav. D; *AJA*, Ser. II, Vol. IV, 1900, p. 185.) An extra member is represented above the *pulvini*, extending across the entire top of the altar. It usually follows the curve of the *pulvini* quite closely, and often ends above the volutes in more or less of a point. The fact that an offering or flames are represented in very few cases where this feature is found seems to show that it is not intended to represent a portable adjunct placed upon the altar at the time of sacrifice. It may simply be the artist's attempt to represent from the front the rear *pulvini* of the altar, which he found beyond his power to draw in correct perspective.

<sup>56</sup> The origin and development of the Roman *pulvini* will be discussed later.

<sup>57</sup> For example, those of the Propylaea at Athens, and the Erechtheum. Marquand, *Greek Architecture*, figs. 231 and 234.

<sup>58</sup> A note in Altmann's *Architektur und Ornamentik der Antiken Sarcophage*, p. 44, is apparently to be interpreted as meaning that the same feature occurs on the altar of Calvinus, but the altar in its present state at least seems to have no trace of such a form.

Ostia, the altar of C. Manlius in the Lateran, and the altar of the *Vicomagistri* in the Capitoline, the *pulvinus* is treated as a member entirely separate from the rest of the top, and having no organic connection with it. It is as independently conceived as if it were separately worked and laid when completed in position on the top of the altar. This structural independence is even more apparent in the altar in the Temple of Vespasian at Pompeii<sup>59</sup> and in the altars of Juturna and of the Dioscuri in the Roman Forum. In the altars first mentioned the *pulvinus* is placed somewhat below the level of the upper surface of the altar, and is therefore slightly subordinated to it, but in the other examples it lies almost entirely above the upper plinth, and as a result is completely independent structurally of the rest of the altar.

In spite of the breaking away from Ionic tradition, if indeed this was ever effective for any length of time in the history of the type, some traces of Ionic influence are recognizable in the *pulvinus*, especially in its form and decoration. The contraction at the middle, the braided or twisted *balteus* and the use of small scalelike leaves, or of long slender pointed ones, for the decoration of the *pulvinus*, are all features that occur again and again in the Ionic capital. The decoration of the ends of the *pulvini* with floral forms instead of the volutes of the Ionic capital is a natural result of the independence of Ionic influence.

Any evidence then to show that the *pulvinus* of the Roman altar was a direct imitation of the Ionic capital is so slight as to make the connection a matter of great uncertainty. Only in one altar of an early date is much of strictly Ionic character to be found, and the great majority show little in common with Ionic forms except the decora-

<sup>59</sup> Photo. Alinari, 11408.

tion, which is naturally a field where superficial resemblances very readily occur.

It seems far easier and more natural to explain the *pulvinus* merely as the development of some simple means employed by the priests and attendants in early times to keep the sacrificial fire in place on the altar and as a protection against the wind. A more elaborate device is found in the canopy or hood which is occasionally represented as in use on altars.<sup>60</sup> The fact that for motives of convenience the sacrificial altar was regularly placed in the forecourt of the temple and not within the building itself would frequently render some such means of protection necessary. In view of the simple character of early Roman religion it may not be too fanciful to suppose that two of the logs brought for the building of the sacrificial fire were placed at the sides of the rude altar of turf or fieldstone as a means of protection against the spreading and scattering of the fire. When, with the establishment of settled forms in religion and a more elaborate ritual, permanent altars became the rule, this simple expedient may have been translated into stone and gradually assumed the form we find upon the altars of the late Republic and the Empire. A similarity to Ionic forms would undoubtedly influence its evolution and its decoration, the naturalistic character of which in many cases may have recalled the earlier device.

The altars with hornshaped appendages at the corners, included in Class II, *B*, form a relatively small group, only

<sup>60</sup> Cf. for example, a Pompeian wall painting, illustrated in *Gazette Archéologique*, Vol. IV, 1878, Pl. II; *Annali*, Vol. XXXIX, 1867, p. 106, and Tav. E, reproducing a drawing from an unknown original, formerly in the possession of Braun; the relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, *Mon. dell' Inst.*, Vol. V, 1849-53, 7 and 8, and Photo. Alinari, 6387; a relief in the Louvre, Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, II, Pl. 217, 314.

five of the eighty-seven examples being included in it. This form of top is much more frequently used for grave altars than for sacrificial altars, and on the grave monuments it assumes more elaborate forms.<sup>61</sup> The horns of the sacrificial altars of this type are all perfectly plain, but on the grave monuments they are frequently ornamented with palmettes and other designs borrowed from architectural forms,<sup>62</sup> such as masks and eagles.

Like the *pulvinus*, these hornshaped appendages probably had their origin in some simple device adopted by the priests for convenience in sacrificing. A stone placed at each corner of the altar or some such expedient would prevent the scattering of the fire, or where a bloodless sacrifice was to be performed would help to keep the fruits or other offerings in place. These appendages would also serve as points of suspension for the garlands frequently employed in the decoration of the altars, which otherwise could hardly be kept in place.<sup>63</sup> As the utility of these primitive horns was gradually established they would assume a stereotyped form and be regularly used in certain cases. This form of top, however, seems never to have been as much used as that with *pulvini*. The reason for this preference cannot now be determined. The altars in existence point to no reason of cult on account of which one form should be preferred to another. Next to the flat-topped altars the form with *pulvini* seems to have been the

<sup>61</sup> For numerous illustrations of this form of top cf. Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. for example, Altmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 121, 129, 180.

<sup>63</sup> Garlands are frequently represented as hanging from the ends of *pulvini*. (Cf. for example, a relief in the Louvre, Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, II, 219, 312; Photo. Giraudon, 1927.) That representations of altars of this class (II, *B*) with garlands suspended from the horns are not found must be due to the comparative infrequency of the type.

one preferred for sacrificial altars,<sup>64</sup> but the reasons for this preference, aside from those of practical convenience, are not clear.

Whatever the origin of the horns, they show clearly the influence of architectural forms in shape and decoration. As has been said, the horns of the sacrificial altars of this type are quite plain, but many decorated examples are found among the grave monuments. Here both form and decoration are influenced by the acroteria frequently found on the covers of sarcophagi and other monuments that reproduce more or less closely the forms of houses or temples. The outline of the horns is often exactly the same as that of the acroteria at the corners, and the decoration with palmettes is also a direct imitation of the architectural forms. It is a recognized principle that the minor arts reflect the tendencies of the great art of the time, and this small and comparatively unimportant class of altars plainly shows influences that may be traced also in larger contemporary monuments.

The altars of Class II, *C*, those with flat tops, are numerically the most numerous. As has been pointed out, this form is the simplest that an altar can assume, and so naturally it is the one most frequently employed. Its use is common to all the peoples with whom we are here concerned.

Again we are indebted to Etruscan urns and mirrors for many examples of this type. Brunn, *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche* and Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, will afford illustrations too numerous to be cited here. In a few instances the altars are round,<sup>65</sup> but generally they are quad-

<sup>64</sup> Schöne, quoted by Nissen in *Das Templum*, p. 196, expresses the opinion that *pulvini* are an essential part of an *ara*, but the existence of many altars without *pulvini* and the fact that in many representations of sacrificial scenes the sacrifice is being performed on flat-topped altars show that this view is incorrect.

<sup>65</sup> Brunn, *op. cit.*, I, XLIV, 18 and 19; II<sup>2</sup>, 88, 1.

angular. The base and cornice are usually composed of several mouldings, which as a rule project further than in the Roman examples of this type. These mouldings show many variations; some are plain, but there is a strongly marked tendency to employ Greek forms, such as dentils and astragals, in their decorations. Flutings like those of an Ionic column also occur on the main plinth.<sup>66</sup> Wreaths and fillets of various kinds are frequently used to decorate these altars<sup>67</sup> and the *patera* is employed as a decoration in at least one instance.<sup>68</sup> The tops of these altars are usually quite flat, but in a few cases rounded or pointed appendages are found at the corners.<sup>69</sup> The *pulvinus* in the form commonly found on Roman altars does not occur. The representation of flames on the top of the altar is common.<sup>70</sup> It will be seen that the Etruscan altars of this type differ but little from the Roman examples. The Etruscan altars present closer affinities with Greek forms to be noticed below than do the Roman altars, especially in the forms and decoration of the mouldings.

These Etruscan altars have many features in common with those represented on Greek vases and reliefs. Here also the architectural character of the altars is emphasized by strongly accentuated bases and cornices, and by the employment of architectural details, such as triglyphs and metopes.<sup>71</sup> One feature of the Greek altars not found in Etruscan or Roman forms is a member of rectangular section, placed at the sides of the top, sometimes flush with the sides, sometimes set in, and apparently answering the

<sup>66</sup> Brunn, *op. cit.*, II<sup>3</sup>, 88, 1; II, LIV, 3; II<sup>3</sup>, 85, 9.

<sup>67</sup> Brunn, *op. cit.*, I, XI, 24; I, XVI, 33.

<sup>68</sup> Brunn, *op. cit.*, I, XIV, 30.

<sup>69</sup> Brunn, *op. cit.*, II<sup>3</sup>, LXXVII, 6; Gerhard, *op. cit.*, IV, CCCXII.

<sup>70</sup> Brunn, *op. cit.*, I, XXXVIII, 7; I, XLIII, 7; II<sup>3</sup>, 88, 1.

<sup>71</sup> *Mon. dell' Inst.*, Vol. VI-VII, 1857, Tav. LXXI, 2.

purpose of the Roman *pulvinus*.<sup>72</sup> The same thing is found in Pompeian wall paintings,<sup>73</sup> and in a painting from the Palatine.<sup>74</sup> It seems to be an essentially Greek feature.<sup>75</sup>

This type of altar was commonly used by the people of the Minoan civilization, as is shown by numerous representations on vases, etc., and by models and actual remains of such altars. A familiar example of this form occurs

<sup>72</sup> *WV*, V, 9, 3; *Mon. dell' Inst.*, Vol. II, 1834-1838, Tav. XLIII; *AZ*, Vol. XXIV, 1866, Taf. CCVI, 4.

<sup>73</sup> *WV*, B, III, 4.

<sup>74</sup> Overbeck, *Atlas*, II, 7, 7; *Révue Arch.*, 1870, Pl. XV.

<sup>75</sup> In many representations of Greek sacrificial scenes, especially in vase paintings, the sides of the altar are flecked or spotted, presumably with the blood of the victim. (Cf. for example, Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenmalerei*, I, 8, 25, 34; II, 73; *WV*, V, 6, 1-2; Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, III, 2; *Arch. Anz.*, 1910, p. 461, fig. 4.) The spots vary in number from one to three. This has frequently been explained by the statement that Greek sacrificial altars were furnished with channels leading from the upper surface and discharging at the sides, through which the superfluous blood was carried away. (Cf. for example, Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, p. 56: "Altäre für blutige Opfer hatten, wie wir auf Vasenbildern oft sehen, an den Seiten flache Löcher und im Innern Kanäle, welche dem Blute und Fette einen Abfluss nach aussen gestatteten.") However, the complete absence of evidence for such a practice in the altars themselves renders this explanation extremely improbable. The fact is rather that blood was sprinkled on the sides of the altar at the time of sacrifice, not only for purposes of purification, but as a sign that the sacrifice had been properly carried out. Numerous references in literature support this hypothesis (cf. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, pp. 18 and 19, and the references there given), and negative evidence is furnished by a pyxis in Berlin (*Arch. Anz.*, Vol. X, 1895, p. 38, fig. 13), on which is represented a rude altar of earth or stone with flecks of blood exactly like those on a permanent altar of stone on the same vase. An altar of this character would not be furnished with any elaborate device for carrying off the blood, so the spots must be due to a ritualistic sprinkling of the altar with the blood of the victim. This practice furnishes a partial explanation for the necessity of frequently renewing the stucco coating of certain altars.

on a fragment of a steatite pyxis, found at Knossos.<sup>76</sup> A sacred grove is represented, surrounded by a wall, before which stands a small quadrangular altar, constructed of ten courses of small squared stones. The top is formed by a plinth, projecting slightly beyond the courses below, on which are placed the familiar "horns of consecration." As Evans has pointed out,<sup>77</sup> this altar probably reproduces the form of the four altars whose bases have been found in the Palace at Knossos. The altar in the Dictæan Cave seems to have been of this form.<sup>78</sup> A further example is afforded by a small votive offering of terra cotta in the form of an altar found in the Palace at Knossos.<sup>79</sup> Here a projecting plinth forms both the base and top. The majority of these altars seem to have been oblong in plan rather than square.

As has been remarked, this form of altar is the simplest and easiest of construction, so it is not surprising to find that it is the one commonly employed by most primitive races. Although as we have seen, it is one form used by the peoples who were the cultural ancestors of the Romans, it does not in itself carry any convincing testimony as to connections between these stocks. In this it stands in decided contrast to the Etruscan form, which seems to offer evidence of some connection between the peoples that employed it, and not to be the result of the independent working out of artistic and religious tendencies.

The last division, Class II, *D*, composed of altars with shallow depressions of various shapes and sizes in the upper surface, presents few difficulties. In one case, that of the altar adorned with plane leaves in the Museo Nazionale,<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Illustrated, *JHS*, Vol. XXI, 1901, p. 103, fig. 2.

<sup>77</sup> *JHS*, l. c., p. 102. Cf. also La Grange, *La Crète Ancienne*, p. 52.

<sup>78</sup> *BSA*, Vol. VI, 1899-1900, p. 98.

<sup>79</sup> Illustrated, La Grange, *op. cit.*, p. 83, fig. 62; von Lichtenberg, *Die Aegäische Kultur*, p. 121, fig. 73.

<sup>80</sup> No. 73 in the catalogue.

the depression occupies the entire top. So large a depression would hardly have been required for libation purposes; it probably served for the attachment of some accessory, such as a grate or brazier, at the time of sacrifice. Such a device would be especially necessary in the case of an elaborate and beautiful altar like the one in question, to protect it from injury by the fire.<sup>81</sup>

A depression of this size is, however, exceptional; as a general rule it is smaller and more cuplike in form. The three round altars from Anzio now in the Capitoline<sup>82</sup> may be taken as typical of this class. Here the depression is perfectly round and has the form of a shallow bowl. Such altars are clearly intended for the libations or drink offerings which formed a part of many sacrificial rites. As is shown by the monumental evidence,<sup>83</sup> libations were poured on flat-topped altars with or without *pulvini*, but the existence of the special class of altars with a form of top plainly intended for libation purposes points to rites of which the libation formed the chief feature.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. an article by Boni on the altar of Juturna in *NS*, 1901, pp. 79 ff. Boni thinks that this accessory was the sacred table or *mensa* frequently mentioned in connection with sacrifices, and that it represented the *caespes* of the primitive altar.

<sup>82</sup> Nos. 75, 77 and 78 in the catalogue.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. for example, the relief on the altar of Manlius, no. 15 in the catalogue.

## DECORATION

Although many of the altars considered are absolutely plain except for the simple mouldings that usually frame the various faces, the decoration of the more elaborate examples affords an interesting study. The observer is at once struck by the fact that as a rule the sacrificial altars are much simpler than the grave altars.<sup>1</sup> In the latter class a perfectly plain altar is exceptional, but among the sacrificial altars examples with no decoration other than simple mouldings or the conventional *patera* and *urceus* form the majority. Undoubtedly the most elaborate examples in both classes of altars have perished, as they would prove most attractive to the Vandals of the Middle Ages, but some inferences may be drawn from those that remain. Apparently the simplest form would often suffice for an altar intended for the worship of the gods, although in cases that seem to have been somewhat exceptional the sacrificial altar assumed more elaborate forms. The monuments intended to perpetuate the memory of the dead, on the other hand, are usually decorated more or less richly, in a measure depending undoubtedly on the purse of the one erecting the altar. Such a distinction between altars dedicated to the gods and those erected in memory of the dead is natural; the monument in the latter case was intended to honor one for whom the survivors felt a close personal affection, grief for whose loss would naturally be expressed by the most costly and elaborate memorial at their command, while altars to the gods expressed at best

<sup>1</sup> For numerous illustrations of grave altars cf. Altmann, *Röm. Grabaltäre*.

only an impersonal affection or a sense of gratitude for favors received.<sup>2</sup>

The decoration of the sacrificial altars may conveniently be considered under two heads: first, the simple and more or less conventional decoration, such as the mouldings, wreaths and palmettes; secondly, the more elaborate decoration, especially the sculptured scenes in relief. The second group may be subdivided into representations of the gods and sacrificial scenes.

The majority of the altars have their faces framed by simple flat mouldings, but in a number of cases, noticed in the catalogue, more elaborate forms are employed. These mouldings are the same as those commonly used in architecture, Greek and Roman—the torus, trochilus and fillet; the astragal; the cyma recta and cyma reversa, and the hawk's beak moulding. The decoration of the mouldings is as a rule borrowed from the Greek. The familiar "tongue" ornament and various forms of the "egg and dart" and leaf patterns appear most frequently. As we should naturally expect, the work is inferior to the Greek and shows the degeneration that most Greek architectural forms suffered at the hands of the Romans. Refinement and delicacy of execution have yielded to a coarsened taste and a mechanical technique. Even the finest of the sacrificial altars from the artistic point of view, the altar with the plane leaves in the Museo Nazionale,<sup>3</sup> is characteristically Roman in the dull and lifeless character of its mouldings, and the same is true to a greater degree of the

<sup>2</sup> The businesslike aspect of the relationship between man and the gods is well illustrated by the large number of *ex voto* monuments in existence—i. e., altars erected in gratitude for the god's fulfilment of his part of a contract.

<sup>3</sup> No. 73 in the catalogue.

altar of Silvanus from Ostia<sup>4</sup> and the two altars in the precinct of Juturna in the Forum.<sup>5</sup>

The boucranion was a feature with which the Romans were more successful. The splendid execution of those on the altar with the plane leaves, just referred to, has already been mentioned. Altmann has pointed out the differences between the Roman boucranion and the form used by the Greeks,<sup>6</sup> and those on the Terme altar are typically Roman in the slender, almost oblong shape of the skull and the faithful delineation of the bony structure.

The employment of ram's heads as a decoration for the corners dates, in Roman art, according to Altmann,<sup>7</sup> from the time of Claudius, although as Winnefeld pointed out<sup>8</sup> it was a form much used by the Greeks. It lends itself especially well to the decoration of altars, where it makes a pleasing break in the otherwise straight line of the side, and offers convenient points of suspension for the garlands so frequently represented. A new feature developed by the Romans was the filling of the lower corners with sphinxes, eagles or other forms, to correspond to the rams' heads above.<sup>9</sup> The Altar of Silvanus from Ostia affords a good example of this style of decoration, though as has been mentioned the sphinxes of the lower angles have almost entirely

<sup>4</sup> No. 9 in the catalogue.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 21 and 22 in the catalogue.

<sup>6</sup> *Architektur und Ornamentik*, p. 64. The Greek form is almost triangular, while the Roman form is long and slender, as would naturally be the case, since the heads of the cattle of the Roman Campagna are of that type. The Greeks frequently represented the boucranion as covered with hide and hair (cf. Marquand, *Greek Architecture*, fig. 280), while the Romans represented only the bony structure of the skull.

<sup>7</sup> *Röm. Grabaltäre*, p. 68.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted by Altmann, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> Altmann, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

disappeared. The motive appears frequently on grave monuments.<sup>10</sup>

To a limited extent conventionalized vegetable ornaments, such as palmettes, spirals and rosettes, are used. Here again the execution is mechanical and the forms are sometimes employed without much reference to the space they are intended to fill. The freer naturalistic ornament on the other hand is often more successful. The altar of Victoria Augusta in the Museo Nazionale,<sup>11</sup> although a small and unimportant monument, shows considerable delicacy and refinement in the wreaths and palm branches which adorn it. The oak wreath on the altar of Jupiter in the Capitoline<sup>12</sup> is very successfully treated. Wreaths of fruits, grains and flowers are employed to a certain extent,<sup>13</sup> though far less than on the grave altars. They are undoubtedly intended as an imitation or reminiscence of the actual wreaths frequently hung upon altars at the time of sacrifice.<sup>14</sup> As a rule they are heavy, recalling the wreaths later so effectively used by the artists of the Italian Renaissance, and the execution is often mediocre. The most successful piece of naturalistic decoration left to us is on the altar with the plane leaves, to which reference has already been made. It is difficult to see how the simple yet pleasing theme could have been more successfully treated. This masterpiece should go far towards dispelling the feeling that the Romans were lacking in delicacy and refinement of conception and in mastery of the subtler resources of the sculptor's art.

Frequently some object connected with the cult of the

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Altmann, *op. cit.*, figs. 62-72.

<sup>11</sup> No. 10 in the catalogue.

<sup>12</sup> No. 36 in the catalogue.

<sup>13</sup> For example, the altar from Ostia (no. 9), the altar of *Pietas* (no. 45) and the altar of C. Manlius (no. 15).

<sup>14</sup> Ovid, *Met.*, VII, 242; *Trist.*, III, 13, 15.

divinity to whom the altar is dedicated is employed as a feature of the decoration. Thus the *cista mystica* appears on an altar of Isis;<sup>15</sup> the spear and starred *pileus* are used on an altar of the Dioscuri.<sup>16</sup> The objects most frequently represented on the altars in this way are the *patera* and *urceus*. They occur occasionally on the rear, but more often on the side faces, one on the right, the other on the left. An almost invariable law regarding the position of these vessels runs throughout the series. Of the eighty-seven altars considered, twenty-three are decorated with the *patera* and *urceus*, and in twenty-two of these cases the *patera* is found on the right face of the altar and the *urceus* on the left. The same principle holds true in grave altars. The explanation of this uniformity is not far to seek. It is undoubtedly to be found in the position of the sacrificing priest with reference to the altar. Numerous representations of sacrificial scenes show that it was the almost invariable custom for the priest to stand facing the worshippers, at the right of the altar, so that he could most conveniently pour the libations and perform the other ritual acts with his right hand. This would be the most natural position for a right-handed person. The *camillus*,<sup>17</sup> whose duties included the carrying of the *urceus* containing the wine for libation, commonly stands at the left of the altar. It is but natural therefore that the two vessels which are symbolic of the functions of these two important members of the sacrificial group should come to be represented almost invariably on the sides of the altar most closely associated with them.

<sup>15</sup> No. 35 in the catalogue.

<sup>16</sup> No. 41 in the catalogue. For the use of the *pileus* and star in connection with the Dioscuri, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, 5., article *Dioscuri*, 1122-3.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of the *Camillus* cf. Spaulding, *The "Camillus" Type in Sculpture*, Columbia University Dissertation, 1911.

A brief examination of a few of the many sacrificial scenes preserved on altars, sarcophagi and other monuments may serve to make this point more clear. A number of such scenes have already been met with on the altars considered. The altar of the *Lares Augusti* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori<sup>18</sup> presents an interesting group, in which the four *vicomagistri* appear to be making a libation or performing some other sacrificial rite in common. That the four men instead of one are here carrying out the priestly functions is shown not only by their position about the altar but also by the veiling of their heads. This makes it impossible to draw any inference from this scene as to the usual position of the sacrificing priest. The altar of C. Manlius in the Lateran<sup>19</sup> has upon its front face a sacrificial scene of the usual type. The priest stands at the right of a small square altar, upon which he is pouring a libation from the *patera* held in his right hand. In this case the *camillus* stands directly behind the altar. A third instance is afforded by the altar of the *Lares Augusti* in the Vatican,<sup>20</sup> on the right side of which a scene of sacrifice is represented. The priest stands as usual at the right of the altar. A second altar of the *Lares Augusti* in the Vatican<sup>21</sup> shows two men, one on either side of a small altar; the one at the right is pouring a libation, while his companion on the left is apparently scattering incense on the altar. As has been pointed out, the altar of the *Vicomagistri* is dated by its inscription in the year 2 A. D., and it is probable that the other altars cited here also belong in the Augustan age,<sup>22</sup> although the two last are so defaced

<sup>18</sup> No. 14 in the catalogue.

<sup>19</sup> No. 15 in the catalogue.

<sup>20</sup> No. 60 in the catalogue.

<sup>21</sup> No. 61 in the catalogue.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, pp. 73 ff.

as to make any accurate judgment based on points of style impossible.

The relief sculpture of the Augustan age furnishes a further example of a sacrificial scene. Two fragments from the *Ara Pacis Augustae*,<sup>23</sup> now united in the Museo Nazionale at Rome, represent a sacrifice, perhaps in honor of *Tellus*. The center of the scene is occupied by a rude altar built up of courses of field stone. A wreath hangs upon it and the top is piled with fruit. At the left are two young attendants, the *victimarii*, leading the pig intended for sacrifice, and the *camillus*, who carries the *urceus* and a flat dish of fruit. The sacrificing priest,<sup>24</sup> who is represented as a man of mature years and grave aspect, stands at the right of the altar. He is clad in an ample mantle which is drawn up over his head in the usual fashion, while his right arm and part of his chest are left bare. The right hand has been broken off above the wrist, but the position of the arm, and the waiting attitude of the *camillus* who stands with *urceus* lowered as if the act of filling the *patera* had just been completed, make it certain that the priest was pouring a libation upon the altar.

A series of reliefs that might be extended almost indefinitely carries the representation of sacrificial scenes down nearly to the time of Constantine. A relief in the Vatican,<sup>25</sup> probably from an altar, furnishes an example which may date from the Claudian period. The left half of the

<sup>23</sup> For illustrations cf. Strong, *op. cit.*, Pl. IX, 2; Photo. Alinari, 27323.

<sup>24</sup> Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, pp. 54 ff., interprets this figure as the genius of the Roman Senate, and this is followed by Mrs. Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Sieveking, *Oest. Jahreshefte*, Vol. X, 1907, pp. 187 ff., rejects this interpretation and explains the scene as a representation of the sacrifice of Aeneas to the Penates after his landing in Italy.

<sup>25</sup> Illustrated, Amelung, *Sc. des Vat. Mus.*, II, Taf. 61; Photo. Anderson, 3932.

relief is occupied by the *victimarius* and the victim, in this case a bull, while the sacrifice is represented at the right. A small quadrangular altar forms the central point of the group. It has a simply moulded base and cornice and the top is flanked by small *pulvini* connected by volutes, between which the sacrificial fire is represented. At the left of the altar stands a woman who holds an incense-box in her left hand, from which she is sprinkling incense upon the flames with her right hand. At the right is the priest clad in tunic and mantle. The heads of both the man and the woman are veiled in the usual fashion. The priest is pouring a libation upon the altar from a small flat *patera* held in his right hand.

A variation of the usual position is found on the front face of the altar in the Temple of Vespasian at Pompeii.<sup>26</sup> Here the priest stands at the left of the tripod which serves as an altar, and pours a libation upon it from a *patera* held in his right hand. A bull in charge of two *victimarii* occupies the space at the right of the tripod, and the other attendants, including a *tibicen*, lictors and a tiny *camillus*, are grouped behind the tripod and the priest. No reason is apparent for this departure from the usual arrangement. Nothing unusual is indicated in any other feature of the group, so it seems probable that the change in position was due simply to a misunderstanding of the ordinary arrangement on the part of the sculptor, or to a desire for novelty in the grouping. The artistic advantages of the usual arrangement will be at once apparent upon comparison of this group with any of the usual type.

The column of Trajan, dating from 113 A. D., presents a series of eight sacrificial scenes representing events in

<sup>26</sup> Illustrated, Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 107, fig. 43; Photo. Alinari, 11408.

various campaigns of the emperor.<sup>27</sup> The altars in this series are all quadrangular, sometimes constructed of courses of masonry, but more often monolithic. The base and cornice are usually moulded and in seven of the eight scenes the altar is adorned with a wreath. In most cases flames are represented on the top of the altar. In two of the eight scenes the priest does not appear; in two of the remaining six he stands at the left of the altar, and in four he is found in the usual position at the right of the altar, with the *patera* in his right hand.

Four sacrificial scenes are found among the medallions now on the arch of Constantine.<sup>28</sup> In three of these scenes a priest appears twice at the right of the altar, once at the left.

A relief of the Antonine period, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori,<sup>29</sup> presents the same variation from the usual type as that found on the altar in Pompeii. The sacrificial group is gathered about a small tripod, upon which the emperor-priest, who stands slightly behind and to the left of it, is pouring a libation. Again the awkwardness of this arrangement from the sculptural point of view is apparent in the undue prominence given to the right arm of the emperor.

A medallion of Julia Domna<sup>30</sup> represents a sacrifice to Vesta. Six Vestal virgins with veiled heads are grouped

<sup>27</sup> For illustrations cf. Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule*, Taf. X, VIII; Taf. XXXVIII, LIII; Taf. LIX, LXXX; Taf. LXII, LXXXV; Taf. LXIII, LXXXVI; Taf. LXVI, XCI; Taf. LXXII, XCIX; Taf. LXXXVI, CIII.

<sup>28</sup> For a discussion as to the date of these medallions cf. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, pp. 131 ff. Sieveking, *RM*, Vol. XXII, 1907, pp. 345-360, advances the theory that those of the south side are Flavian and those of the north side Hadrianic. For illustrations cf. Strong, *op. cit.*, Pls. XL and XLI.

<sup>29</sup> Illustrated, Strong, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCI, 8; Photo. Alinari, 6043.

<sup>30</sup> Illustrated, *NS*, 3\*, Vol. XIII, 1883, Tav. II.

about a small round altar before the Temple of Vesta. The priestess to the right of the altar is pouring a libation from a *patera* held in her right hand, while her companion to the left appears to be sprinkling incense on the flames.

The basis of a column erected in the Roman Forum by Diocletian<sup>31</sup> has on one side a sacrificial scene. The relief, though of poor workmanship and much defaced, is valuable as a witness to the persistence of early forms down to the latest days of paganism. The emperor, about to be crowned by Victory, stands at the right of the small tripod-altar, upon which he is pouring a libation from a *patera umbilicata* held in his right hand. As in many earlier scenes, the *tibicen* stands almost directly behind the altar, while a small *camillus* with an incense-box in his hands is at the left. The group is completed by other attendants and officials to right and left.

More than three hundred years intervened between this basis and the earliest monuments considered, but the sacrificial group in what we have found to be its normal form occurs again and again throughout this period. Variations do appear, as has been noted above, but they are so few comparatively that they may serve only to emphasize the regularity with which the usual type occurs. There can be no doubt that in the ordinary sacrifices the regular position for the sacrificing priest was at the right of the altar, a position justified not only by its convenience but also by its more pleasing appearance from the spectator's point of view. In this customary grouping of the priests and attendants about the altar, therefore, is to be found the explanation of the almost invariable rule governing the appearance of the *patera* and *urceus* as a decoration of altars. The *patera* is placed upon the right face as the vessel most closely associated with the sacrificing priest, while the

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Hülsen-Carter, *The Roman Forum*, pp. 97-98.

*urceus* is emblematic of the *camillus*, whose regular place is at the left of the altar.

Altars with more elaborate decoration, such as representations of the gods or sacrificial scenes, are naturally in the minority. The reliefs representing gods are in many instances taken over from statues in the round, and in some cases statues of the same type are still extant.<sup>32</sup> Add to this the fact that the altars were for the most part the work of humble stonecutters, of whom no originality could be expected, and it becomes highly probable that the greater part of the more elaborate decoration in relief was a more or less faithful copy of works already in existence. The mechanical and lifeless execution of most of the reliefs shows how little real skill the artists possessed. In spite of this mediocrity, however, they have a certain interest as specimens of the art of the people.

Reference has already been made to the sacrificial and cult scenes on the altars. Their full import is not clear in all cases,<sup>33</sup> but there can be little doubt that they referred directly to the cult with which the altar was connected. The same is true of the mythological scenes with which certain of the altars are decorated.<sup>34</sup> The principle, therefore, running through the entire field of the decoration, with the exception of the purely conventional ornament, such as palmettes and mouldings, is that it is directly connected with the sacrifice performed upon the altar. The

<sup>32</sup> For a statue of the same type as the relief on the altar of Silvanus, no. 8 in the catalogue, cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, I, p. 220, 818. For the relief of Neptune on the altar in the Capitoline, no. 75, cf. Reinach, *op. cit.*, I, p. 428, 1796, which is of the same type, except that it lacks the cloak. A Pompeian wall painting, Overbeck, *Atlas*, III, XII, 23, reproduces the type exactly.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. for example the relief on the rear face of the altar of Manlius, no. 15 in the catalogue.

<sup>34</sup> For example the altar of Hercules in the Lateran, no. 42 in the catalogue.

wreaths of stone reproduce actual floral decoration; the boucrania and rams' heads recall the part that the victims had in the sacrifice; the *patera* and *urceus* symbolize the functions of priest and *camillus*, while more elaborate decorations depict the god and events in his life or represent the sacrifice performed upon the altar. Thus even the monotonous repetition of the sacrificial vessels possesses a certain interest and the decoration as a whole bears witness to a once vital religious feeling.

## CONCLUSION

The results of this investigation may be summarized as follows:

1. Roman sacrificial altars present in general two widely differing types,—those with curving profiles and those with straight profiles.

2. The first of these types was derived from Etruria and bears a marked resemblance to altar-forms employed by peoples further to the East, especially the Babylonians and the bearers of the Aegean civilization.

3. The second of the two types was too widely diffused and too little individualized to afford any conclusions as to the relations of the peoples using it.

4. The decoration of the altars was largely determined by their function as the chief accessory of the sacrifice and reflects the more important art of the time.

Although the sacrificial altars form a group of comparatively unimportant monuments, they may yet serve to play some small part in determining the historical and artistic relations of the forces that produced them.

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## VITA

I, Helen Cox Bowerman, was born in Rochester, New York, July 27, 1878. My father was Daniel Bowerman, my mother Mary Weeks Bowerman. I was prepared for college by the Rochester Free Academy and from 1897 to 1901 I was a student at Mount Holyoke College, from which I was graduated in 1901 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. During 1902-1903 I studied at the University of Rochester and at the end of that year received the degree of Master of Arts. In 1908-1909 I held a scholarship in Classical Archaeology and Latin in Bryn Mawr College and in the two following years I held the resident Fellowship in Archaeology. The year 1910-1911 I spent in study abroad, at the University of Bonn and the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. In the fall of 1911 I returned to Bryn Mawr College as the holder of the '86 Fellowship of Mount Holyoke College, and during that year completed the required work for the Doctor's degree.

From 1903 to 1905 I taught in the High School at Macedon, New York, and from 1905 to 1908 I was Instructor in Latin in Western College, Oxford, Ohio.

My work at Bryn Mawr has been under the direction of Professor Caroline Ransom, formerly of the Department of Archaeology, now of the Metropolitan Museum in New York; of Professor Arthur L. Wheeler and Professor Tenney Frank, of the Department of Latin; and during the last year, of Professor David Moore Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University, who had charge of the graduate work in Archaeology at Bryn Mawr College for that year. My examinations for the doctorate were taken in May, 1912.

My major subject was Classical Archaeology, my minor was Latin.

My special thanks are due to Professor Ransom, Professor Wheeler and Professor Frank, with whom the greater part of my work was done, and to Professor Robinson for the direction of my dissertation. It is a pleasure to acknowledge their unfailing kindness and interest in my work. My thanks are also due to Professor Jesse Benedict Carter, Director of the American School in Rome, from whom the first suggestion for this study came.

















































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